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THE

LIFE

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH

VOL. II.

00030931

THE

LIFE

OF

SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNT.

BY ARTHUR CAYLEY, JUN^R. ESQ.

——————— But who can speak
The num'rous worthies of the maiden reign?
In RALEGH mark their ev'ry glory mix'd;
RALEGH! the scourge of Spain! whose breast with all
The sage, the patriot, and the hero, burn'd:
Nor sunk his vigour when a coward reign
The warrior fetter'd, and at last resign'd,
To glut the vengeance of a vanquish'd foe.
Then, active still and unrestrain'd, his mind
Explor'd the vast extent of ages past,
And with his prison-hours enrich'd the world;
Yet found no times in all the long research,
So glorious or so base as those he prov'd,
In which he conquer'd, and in which he bled.

THOMSON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CHAP. VII.

WITH the reign of Queen Elizabeth the good fortune of Sir Walter Ralegh sank to rise no more; and those talents, which, under the smiles of a female sovereign of singular penetration, had been called forth and directed to the noblest ends, were doomed to fade and wither under the frowns of her successor.

In no instance was the policy of Cecil more remarkable, than in the part which he acted with King James toward the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign. No sooner was the blow struck against Essex, than the secretary thought it prudent to cultivate the favour of a prince who was likely so soon to become his sovereign. Sensible, however, that an intercourse with him might prove highly dangerous under a mistress whose natural jealousy was daily strengthening with age, he carried on the correspondence into which he entered with all the secrecy and caution necessary to his situation and peculiar to his character[1]. The letters were for the most part conveyed by the way of Ireland[2]; and those from this side were written by Lord Henry Howard, under the inspection of Cecil, in a style affectedly obscure. Not-

Cecil's correspondence with King James.

[1] See Robertson's Scotland.

[2] Birch's Life of Prince Henry, p. 232.

withstanding the solicitude repeatedly discovered by the secretary, that they should be destroyed as soon as the king had read them, many of them have been preserved, and reached the press about forty years ago[3]. They make frequent mention of Ralegh, and a *triplicity* which he had formed with Cobham and Northumberland, in terms which bespeak a strong disaffection to the knight on the parts of Cecil and Howard; but the correspondence is upon the whole curious, rather than instructive[4]. It had however the desired effect in securing Cecil's interest with the king; and on his accession to this throne, men wondered at the ascendency over the rest of his party which the secretary enjoyed. He was successively created Lord Essenden, Viscount Cranbourne, and Earl of Salisbury; and he was always regarded as His Majesty's prime-minister and chief counsellor.

Though the circumstance of this correspondence sufficiently explains to us the ascendency which Cecil gained above all other parties in the new king's favour, we are left a good deal in the dark as to the particular causes of disunion[5] between the secretary and Ralegh; and chiefly enabled to draw the general conclusion, that, after the fall of Essex and his party, their friendship soon terminated in rivalship for power. "Nor did this blow," says Osborn, "terminate only in the ruin of the earl's friends, but extended to the disadvantage of his maligners themselves, apparent in Sir Walter Ralegh; who, wanting strength, though not wit, to be the treasurer's co-rival, perished because not thought to own humility enough to be his servant. It being more

Rivalship with Ralegh.

[3] See Chap. vi. note 59 of this work.

[4] *Yea, Cecil himself,* says Arthur Wilson, in his Life and Reign of James I. *held his correspondence, which he was once like to be trapped in. For the queen taking the air upon Blackheath, by Greenwich, a post summoned her to enquire from what quarter his business came; and hearing from Scotland, she staid her coach to receive the packet. But the secretary, Sir Robert Cecil (being in the coach with her) fearful that some of his secret conveyances might be discovered, having an active wit, calls for a knife suddenly to open it, lest puts-off and delays might beget suspicion. And when he came to cut it, he told the queen it looked and smelled ill-savouredly, coming out of many nasty budgets, and was fit to be opened and aired before she saw it. Which reason, meeting with her disaffection to ill-scents, hindered her smelling-out his underhand contrivances.*

[5] Cecil's own words upon Ralegh's trial throw no light upon the matter, and are of a piece with his general character—*a former dearness between me and him tied so firm a knot of my conceit of his virtues, now broken by a discovery of his imperfections, &c.* See the Trial in this chapter.

safe

safe at court to have many enemies of equal power, than one false ambitious friend that hath attained to the absoluteness of command[6]." Dr. Peter Heylin remarks on the same subject that "Cecil fearing the great abilities of Ralegh, and being wearied with the troublesome impertinencies of Grey and Cobham (all which had joined with him in design against the Earl of Essex, their common enemy) had done their errand to King James (whose counsels he desired to engross to himself alone) before his coming into England[7]." Of the later causes of this disunion, one probably was a memorial which Ralegh is said to have presented to King James, wherein he reflected severely upon Cecil's conduct toward Essex, and transferred the whole blame of the earl's death from himself to the secretary; imputing also to him and his father, the execution of Mary, the king's mother. This paper we are told had no effect on the king, and a very pernicious one on Sir Walter, by exasperating Cecil still more against him[8].

K. James prejudiced.

Less doubtful or obscure are the causes which are supposed to have prejudiced Ralegh with king James. The correspondence with that king, begun by Essex[9], and continued by Cecil, has already been noticed. The former we may safely conclude had not spared the knight in his letters, while the secretary we know did not, by the publication of his correspondence. In addition to these early prepossessions, Ralegh appears to have been in the number of those "noble and public spirits," as Osborn calls them, "who desired (in regard of the known feud between the nations) he might be obliged to articles—all frowned upon after by the king, who had yet the luck to live so long as to change his opinion, and (when he found he neither durst do it himself, nor consent to it in parliament) to wish his countrymen's numbers had been limited, and not suffered like locusts to devour this kingdom[10]." It has also been conjectured, (with what appearance of probability, the reader must decide for himself,) that

[6] Osborn's Miscellaneous Works, II. 75.
[7] Examen Historicum, 8vo, 1659. p. 170.
[8] See Welwood's Notes on Wilson's Life of K. James, in Kennet's Hist. of Eng. II. 663-4.
[9] See Vol. I. p. 310. of this work
[10] Osborn's Misc. Works, II. 104.

offence was taken at a design which Ralegh had, of marrying his son Walter to a ward of his, the daughter and heiress of Basset of Umberleigh and Hinton-court, in Devonshire; that family being descended from the Plantagenets, and laying some claim to the crown at this very time[11]. At any rate, the enterprising and martial character of Sir Walter was far from congenial to the disposition of James; and an offer which he made on the king's accession of invading Spain with two thousand men, free of expence to the crown[12], as well as a Discourse which he wrote, touching a war with Spain, and the protection of the Netherlands[13], were not likely to promote his cause with the new sovereign.

1603. On the king's arrival in London, in May, 1603, we are told that "for some weeks he used Sir Walter with great kindness; and was pleased to acknowledge divers presents which he had received from him being in Scotland, for which he gave him thanks[14]." It is not to be wondered at, however, under the circumstances already noticed, that the knight soon experienced the neglect which he did at court. The office of captain of the guard we find given to Sir Thomas Erskine, the king's countryman and favourite, soon after his accession. In recompence for this and his wine-patent, of which he was also deprived[15], a pension of £.300. *per annum* was granted to Sir Walter for his life, and an arrear of debt against him written-off[16]. But matters

Ralegh neglected.

[11] See Observations on Sanderson's Hist. 4to, 1656. p. 12.; Prince's Devon. p. 114.; and Wood's Athen. Oxon. I. 366. The lady's estate was £.3000. a year. She first married Mr. Henry Howard, and after his death, the Earl of Newcastle, *who professed he would never have wedded her if young Walter Ralegh had been alive; conceiving her before God to be his wife, for they were married as much as children could be.* See the above Observations.

[12] See Sir Walter's Letter to the Earls of Nottingham, Suffolk, &c. in this chapter.

[13] See Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. p. 1.

[14] See a Brief Relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's Troubles, by his son Carew, in the Appendix, No. x. I have found, however, that the statements in this piece must be used with caution. On the present occasion, Sir Richard Baker, in his Chronicle informs us, that Ralegh was discountenanced by the king at their first meeting on his journey from Scotland. And Sir John Hawles, in his Reply to the Magistracy and Government of England Vindicated, (folio, 1689) writes, *Cobham and Ralegh were not permitted to come at the king upon his journey into England, and had word sent them they might spare their labour.*

[15] See the Lord Chief Justice's Address to Ralegh before the Judgment at his Trial.

[16] See Cecil's Letter to Sir Thomas Parry, in this chapter.

stopped

stopped not here. The tide of prejudice against Ralegh was strong, and no thought or action of his life was any longer innocent. Three months had not elapsed since the king's arrival [17], before he was charged with treasonable practices against his government.

The conspiracy to which I allude, is a riddle of state, which has never been solved, and the speculations that have been formed on it would fill a moderate volume. Our own writers afford us little satisfaction on the subject; while the account of it given by Thuanus [18] is founded on the gross misrepresentations of his countryman, Victor Cayet [19], and is truly unworthy of a place in his history. Under these circumstances, the epistolary correspondence of the great men of the time is perhaps our best guide; and the following letter on the occasion from Cecil to Sir Thomas Parry, ambassador in France, will at least have the merit of good information, while to the best of my knowledge, it is now printed for the first time. I therefore present it to the reader, premising only the following remark on the secretary by the Earl of Clarendon. "It seemed as necessary *(for him)* there should be treasons, as for the state they should be prevented; insomuch as it was then (how unjustly soever) conceived, that though he created none, yet he fomented some conspiracies, that he might give frequent evidences of his loyalty [20]. Conspiracy.

[17] In the Salisbury Collection at Hatfield are several letters relative to the Cobham plot, by which it appears that commissioners were employed in the month of July to investigate it.

[18] Thuanus relates the story thus. In June, Sir Walter Ralegh, a man equally dexterous at consultation or action, and famous for his memorable expeditions to the Indies, taking leave of his sister in London, intreated her to commend him to God in her prayers, for he was going to a place whence he expected never to return. She, suspecting that he was going to fight a duel, with the same levity dispersed it among the ladies of her acquaintance, till the rumour came to court, and Ralegh's friends flocked about him to know the enterprise. He, apprehending himself detected, made a confession and discovery of the whole matter. The king was greatly astonished and would have Ralegh before him; who, asking his pardon, acknowledged, since His Majesty gave greater countenance to the Scots than the English, deprived him of his command in the guards, and led many to expect that on his establishment on the throne he would be revenged for the death of his mother, he had entered into a conspiracy with others, (whom he named) to shed his royal blood; and that he was unanimously deputed to be His Majesty's executioner when he rode a hunting. Whereupon the conspirators were taken-up and tried. (Tom. v. l. 129.)

[19] Chronologie Septennaire, p. 424. Edit. Paris, 1605, 8vo.

[20] Disparity between Buckingham and Essex.

"*Lord*

"*Lord* CECIL, *Secretary of State, to Sir* THOMAS PARRY, *Ambassador in France.*"

HAMPTON-COURT, *August*, 4. 1605.

"SIR,

Cecil's letter on it.

"IT is very true that when there was cause to stop the passage, there was not conveniency of writing unto you; for some traitors being fled, and proclamation made for them, it was held fit to prevent their escape. Since which time it hath pleased God to deliver most of them into His Majesty's hands; whereof because you may know the truth and no more, you shall understand that this is of this nature.

Markham and Brooke.

Sir Griffin Markham, and Mr. George Brooke, brother to the Lord Cobham, having dealt with the king in former time to profess their affection toward him, finding some of their vain hopes deceived, fell into incontentment against the king, and most of the nobility that

Lord Grey.

were counsellors about him. And observing in the Lord Grey some like malcontented humour (only in some such-like respects,) they began to project a course of alteration of this estate; hoping, if they could have with some convenient number possessed the person of the king, that they might then by his authority have raised themselves to what places they would, by removing those that presently possess them. In which there was speech that the Lord Grey should be Earl-marshal, Markham to be Secretary, Brooke to be Lord-treasurer of England, Watson, the priest, to be Lord-chancellor; and in case there should have been resistance made against them, they had provided a party to have gone to the court in the night.

Forasmuch as now these men should hardly have been able to have drawn such a company together to second their passions, one of them

Watson and Clarke.

being a papist, undertook by Watson and Clarke, two priests, to draw-in some catholics to assent to deliver a petition to the king for toleration of religion; but so well provided, as the king should not have thought himself in safety to deny them.

Of

Of this treacherous and vain project, among them many disputations and arguments have passed; not any of them misliking the purpose, but reasoning the probabilities to effect it. By which means the matter was the worse digested, and so the day assigned came upon them faster than their councils could agree for the orderly execution. Which falling-out to be the 24th of June; the Lord Grey, jealous lest the principal number, compounded of catholics, might over-rule him and his followers in the surprise (which were intended by him to be of the religion now professed) he made objection to Markham that he esteemed so much that point as he was loath to join with him, but rather wished some suspension of it till his party might be better secured. Which he thought should be, if the king should aid the states of the Low-countries, and he obtain the commandment of new forces to be levied; under colour of which levy here about London, he hoped the better to have disguised the gathering together of such numbers. And thus, with all their irresolutions, the day was put-off and new fears distracted them, which arised only from the difficulty to surprise the court, wherein there never sleepeth under three hundred gentlemen that carry arms. But, because we having some scout-notice of conventicles for some such purpose, began to set better order of doors and passages, of which proceedings they took an alarm. Nevertheless, they gave not over their imaginations, conferences, nor designs, until one Copley, a principal conspirator, was taken; whom Markham and Brooke knew would accuse them. Upon his taking, Markam came to Mr. Brooke to procure him means to escape by his brother's authority; who, notwithstanding he understood for what cause it was, did assent to convey him over, and gave him some money for his journey; although Markham, upon other consideration, took another way of flight, until he was apprehended. Since which, all hath been confessed by themselves under their hands. Copley.

And now, because I doubt not you may have heard also of other matters, and therein, peradventure, much hath been multiplied, you shall understand, that although the Lord Cobham was no particular Lord Cobham.

actor

actor nor contriver of this conspiracy, yet he had another iron in the fire, which, in general terms, he let fall to his brother and some others, though he used them not particularly in this project, no more than they had done him in theirs; always this being common to them all, *that if one sped not, another might*. So far had God blinded their eyes, when the king had noway wronged any of these, by taking from them any matter of profit or credit which ever they enjoyed! But it was not enough not to take away—because he did not suddenly give what they desired. To be short, therefore, the Lord Cobham meant to go over to the Spa, thereby to have had access to the archduke; to whom he meant to have intimated his discontentment, and withal, to have represented the general disposition of others in this country, on whom he would have pretended that good sums of money would have taken great hold. From thence he should have gone into Spain, and there have seen what the king would have embraced. And at his return he would have passed to Jersey, where Sir Walter Ralegh would have met him, and so have conferred together what course to take for advancement of those intentions which his overtures should have begot. Leaving it not altogether hopeless, but that some of these surprises, or some other accident, in the meantime might have happened to have saved his labour. Always, if no such thing had followed in the interim, such sums of money as he could have procured the king of Spain to disburse, should have been employed *selon l'occasion*.

Count Aremberg.

If now you will ask whether the Count of Aremberg had any hand in this matter, I must answer you truly that the Lord Cobham privily resorted to him. First, to confirm former intelligence concerning the peace. And as an argument to prepare him to believe him if he offered any greater services, he stuck not to advertise him daily how things passed at court; with as many particulars as he could come by, what success the States had at the king's hands, or were like to have. And not three days before his commitment, he wrote to the count in general terms, that if he would do his master service, he should not be inveigled with conceit of peace; for though the king had a good

disposition

disposition to it, yet most of the principal counsellors were obstinate for the war. Concluding, that, if the count would procure four or five hundred thousand crowns to be disposed as he would, he could shew him a better way to prosper than by peace. To which letter, before the count could make any direct answer, the Lord Cobham was apprehended. And therefore, when you shall speak with the king, you may assure him, that whatsoever is advertised more or less of those things is false. Only the first conspirators had likewise resolved to carry the king to the Tower, to have forced him to a proclamation to justify their actions, with divers such pretences usual in such cases.

Concerning Sir Walter Ralegh's commitment, this hath been the ground: I. He hath been discontented *in conspectu omnium*, ever since the king came; and yet, for those offices which are taken from him, the king gave him £. 300 a-year during his life, and forgave him a good arrearage of debt. II. His inwardness, or rather his governing the Lord Cobham's spirit, made great suspicion that in these treasons he had his part. Whereupon being sent for before four or five of the council, and asked of some particulars; before he was sent to prison, he wrote a letter secretly to the lord Cobham, advising him, if he were examined of anything, to stand peremptory, and not be afraid, for one witness could not condemn him. After which, the Lord Cobham being called in question, he did first confess his own treasons as above said, and then did absolutely before eleven counsellors accuse Ralegh to be privy to his Spanish course; with farther addition and exclamation, that he had never dealt herein but by his own incessant provocation. Whereupon he was committed to the Tower; where, though he was used with all humanity, lodged and attended as well as in his own house; yet, one afternoon, while divers of us were in the Tower examining some of these prisoners, he attempted to have murdered himself. Whereof when we were advertised, we came to him, and found him in some agony, seeming to be unable to endure his misfortunes, and protesting

Ralegh

accused by Cobham.

Wounds himself.

protesting innocency, with carelessness of life. And in that humour he had wounded himself under the right pap, but noway mortally, being in truth rather a cut than a stab, and now very well cured both in body and mind[21]. What to judge of this case yet we know not; for, how voluntarily and authentically soever the Lord Cobham did before us all accuse him in all our hearing, and most constantly, yet, being newly examined, he seemeth now to clear Sir Walter in most things, and to take all the burthen to himself. So, as the matter concerning the blood of a gentleman, how apparent soever it is *in foro conscientiæ*, yet you may be assured that no severity shall be used toward him, for which there shall not be sufficient proof. Which is very like there will be, notwithstanding this retractation; because it is confessed, that since their being in the Tower, intelligence hath passed from one to another, wherein Ralegh expostulated his unkind using him[22]."

Cleared by Cobham.

Examined.

A short time previously to the date of this letter, Sir Walter had been examined by Lord Henry Howard, Lord Wotton, and Sir Edward Coke; and shortly afterward, he addressed the following letter, declaratory of his innocence, to the Earls of Nottingham, Suffolk and Devonshire, and Lord Cecil:

"*Sir* WALTER RALEGH *to the Earls of* NOTTINGHAM, SUFFOLK, *and* DEVONSHIRE, *and to Lord* CECIL.

Letter to the Commissioners.

"I DO not know whether Your Lordships have seen my answers to all the matters which my Lord Henry Howard, My Lord Wotton,

[21] Sir Walter's former biographers make no mention whatever of this circumstance. In a Diary of this period by Cecil when Earl of Salisbury, in the Hatfield-library, is likewise a Memorandum, that Ralegh and Brooke were sent to the Tower from Fulham (Dr. Bancroft, bishop of London, being one of the commissioners) July 19th, 1603; and on the 27th, Sir Walter attempted to stab himself to the heart with a knife, but missed his heart, though he wounded himself greatly.

[22] From the Copy-book of Sir Thomas Parry's letters, in Mr. Pepyps' library in Magdalen College, Cambridge. A copy in Dr. Birch's hand-writing may be seen among his MS. Collections in the British Museum, N° 4176.

and

and Sir Edward Coke have examined me on, upon Saturday the 14th of this present[23]; which makes me bold to write unto Your Lordships at this time. The two principal accusations being these: the first, that money was offered me with a pretence to maintain the amity, but the intent was to have assisted His Majesty's surprise; the other, that I was privy to My Lord Cobham's Spanish journey.

For the first, I beseech Your Lordships to weigh it seriously before there be any farther proceeding. For to leave me to the cruelty of the law of England, and to that *summum jus* before both your understandings and consciences be thoroughly informed, were but carelessly to destroy the father and fatherless; and you may be assured that there is no glory, nor any reward, that can recompense the shedding of innocent blood. And, whereas it seemeth to appear, that this money was offered to others long after it was offered to me, and upon some other considerations than it was unto me: for myself, I avow, upon my allegiance, that I never either knew or suspected either the man or the new intention. To me it was but once propounded, and in three weeks after I never heard more of it; neither did I believe it that he had any commission to offer it, as the everlasting God doth witness! For if that word *amity* had been used to me colourably, I must have been also made acquainted with the true end for which it should have been given, which it seemeth was for the surprise. But, of any such horrible and fearful purpose if ever I had so much as a suspicion, I refuse Your Lordships' favours and the king's mercy. I know that Your Lordships have omitted nothing to find-out the truth hereof. But, as you have not erred like ill surgeons, to lay on plaisters too narrow for so great

[23] Most probably July, 1603. See note 17, and the date of Cecil's letter. Dr. Birch, in his Works of Ralegh, has printed this letter from Ralegh's Remains, without correcting the errors of the editor of that volume. Thus, he makes the date *August*; and, instead of the Earl of Nottingham, who, as Lord-Admiral, is referred to in the letter, he prints *the Earl of Southampton*—an error which the Harleian Collection could have taught him to correct.

wounds; so, I trust that you will not imitate unlearned physicians, to give medicines more cruel than the disease itself.

For the journey into Spain, I know that I was accused to be privy thereunto. But I know Your Lordships have a reputation of conscience as well as of industry. By what means that revengeful accusation was stirred, you, My Lord Cecil, know right well that it was my letter about Keymis; and Your Lordships all know, whether it be maintained, or whether out of truth, and out of a Christian consideration it be revoked. I know, that to have spoken it once is enough for the law, if we lived under a cruel prince. But I know that the king is too merciful to have or suffer his subjects to be ruined by any quick or unchristian advantage, unless he be resolved, or can persuade his religious heart of the equity. I know, that the king thinks with all good princes, *satius est peccare in alteram partem.* God doth know, and I can give an account of it, that I have spent forty thousand crowns of mine own against that king and nation; that I never reserved so much of all my fortunes as to purchase £. 40 *per annum* land; that I have been a violent persecutor, and fartherer of all enterprises against that nation. I have served against them in person; and how, My Lord-Admiral and My Lord of Suffolk can witness. I discovered myself the richest part of all his Indies—I have planted in his territories—I offered His Majesty, at my uncle Carew's, to carry two thousand men to invade him without the king's charge. Alas! to what end should we live in the world, if all the endeavours of so many testimonies shall be blown-off with one blast of breath, or be prevented by one man's word. And, in this time, when we have a generous prince, from whom to purchase honour and good opinion, I had no other hope but by undertaking upon that cruel and insolent nation. Think therefore, I most humbly beseech you, on my great affliction, with compassion, who have lost my estate and the kng's favour upon one man's word; and as you would that God should deal with you, deal with me. You all know that the law of England hath need

need of a merciful prince; and if you put me to shame, you take from me all hope ever to receive His Majesty's least grace again. I beseech you to be resolved of those things of which I am accused, and distinguish me from others. As you have true honour, and as you would yourselves be used in the like, forget all particular mistakes; *multos clementia honestavit, ultio nullum.* Your Lordships know that I am guiltless of the surprise intended.—Your Lordships know, or may know, that I never accepted of the money, and that it was not offered me for any ill—and of the Spanish journey, I trust your consciences are resolved. Keep not then, I beseech you, these my answers and humble desires from my sovereign lord; *qui est rex pius et misericors, et non leo coronatus.* Thus humby beseeching Your Lordships to have a merciful regard of me, I rest,

Your Lordships' humble and miserable suppliant,

WALTER RALEGH [24]."

In Cecil's correspondence with Mr. Winwood, who was at that time resident in Holland, we have the following farther communication from the secretary relative to this conspiracy, in date October 3d.

" As for our conspirators, (whereof the States have lately, by M. Caron, congratulated the king) this course hath been taken. They are all now indicted for high-treason, and the time draweth near to lay open, by public trial of them, all particulars; which may be shortly reduced to these two heads. The one, the treason of surprise of the king and court, the consequence whereof must needs have proved very dangerous and bloody. The other, a purpose to propound to Spain the means to raise him a party to extirpate the king and his issue, by disbursing of a sum of five hundred thousand crowns. In the first, the Lord Grey, Mr. George Brooke, Sir Griffin Markham, and many other private gentlemen were engaged. In

Indicted for High-treason.

[24] See the Harleian Collection, xxxix, 360.; and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 379.

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Persists in denial of it.

the second, the Lord Cobham confesseth himself guilty, and so doth his brother Mr. George Brooke; but Sir Walter Ralegh yet persists in denial of the main treasons. Which though he doth, by having gotten some intelligence of the Lord Cobham's retractation, yet the first accusation is so well fortified with other demonstrative circumstances, and the retractation so blemished by the discovery of that intelligence which they had, as few men can conceive it comes from a clear heart. Always, he shall be left to the law, which is the right all men are born unto [25]."

Previously to his trial, Sir Walter Ralegh addressed the following letter to His Majesty:

"*Sir* WALTER RALEGH *to King* JAMES I."

Letter to the King.

"IT is one part of the office of a just and worthy prince, to hear the complaints of his vassals; especially such as are in great misery. I know, that among many presumptions gathered against me, Your Majesty hath been persuaded that I was one of them who were greatly discontented, and therefore the more likely to prove disloyal. But the great God of heaven and earth so relieve me as I was the contrary! And I took it as a great comfort to behold Your Majesty, always learning some good, and bettering my knowledge by hearing Your Majesty discourse; and do most humbly beseech Your Majesty not to believe any of those in my particular, who, under pretence of offences to kings do easily work their particular revenge. I trust, no man, under colour of making examples, shall persuade you to leave the word *merciful* out of Your Majesty's stile; for it will no less profit Your Majesty, and become your greatness, than the word *invincible*. It is true that the laws of England are no less jealous of the king, than Cæsar was of Pompey's wife: who, notwithstanding she was cleared for keeping company with Claudius, yet for being suspected he condemned her. For myself, I protest before the everlasting God (and I speak it to my master and sovereign) that I never

[25] Winwood's Memorials, II. 8.

invented

[redacted] treason, consented to treason, nor performed treason against [redacted] yet I know I shall fall *in manus eorum a quibus non possum* [redacted]ess by Your Majesty's gracious compassion I be sustained. [redacted]herefore, Most Merciful Prince, knowing her own cruelty, [redacted]g that she is wont to compound treasons out of presumptions and circumstances, doth give this charitable advice to the king her supreme; *non solum sapiens esset rex sed et misericos, ut cum sapientia misericordetur et sit justus—cum tutius sit reddere rationem misericordiæ quam judicii.*

I do therefore, on the knees of my heart, beseech Your Majesty, to take counsel from your own sweet and comfortable disposition; and to remember that I have loved Your Majesty twenty years, for which Your Majesty has given me no reward. And it is fitter that I should be indebted to my sovereign lord, than the king to his poor vassal. Save me, therefore, Most Merciful Prince, that I may owe Your Majesty my life itself, than which there cannot be a greater debt. Lend it me at least, My Sovereign Lord, that I may pay it in your service when Your Majesty shall please to command it. If the law destroy me, Your Majesty shall put me out of your power, and then I shall have none to fear, none to reverence, but the King of Kings.

Your Majesty's most humble vassal.

WALTER RALEGH [26].

The plague raged in London at this time, and the term was held at Winchester. In the custody of Sir Robert Mansel, Ralegh was conveyed in his own coach to Bagshot on the 10th of November, and two days afterward to the castle at Winchester. Cobham and the rest were also brought thither about the same time [27]. On the 17th of November the trial of Sir Walter Ralegh came on, and is here print-

Brought to Winchester.

[26] See the Harleian and other Collections; and Birchs' Works of Ralegh, II. 377.

[27] Stowe's Annals, p. 829.

ed

ed from the best edition of the State Trials. When we reflect what an English trial by jury *should be*, and which *now*, thank God! we are all well acquainted with, we shall wish that this unsightly tissue of abuse, malevolence, and oppression, had never existed as such upon the records of our country—but let the reader judge for himself.

His trial. " *The Trial of Sir* WALTER RALEGH, *Knight, at Winton, for High-Treason, November 17th*, 1603. 1 JAC. I.

The Commissioners were

Rt. Hon. THOMAS HOWARD, Earl of Suffolk, Lord-chamberlain.
CHARLES BLUNT, Earl of Devon.
Lord HENRY HOWARD, afterward Earl of Northampton.
ROBERT CECIL, Earl of Salisbury.
EDWARD Lord WOTTON, of Morley.
Sir JOHN STANHOPE, Vice-chamberlain.
Lord-Chief-Justice of England, POPHAM.
Lord-Chief-Justice of the Common-pleas, ANDERSON.
Mr. Justice GAWDIE.
Justice WARBURTON.
Sir WILLIAM WADE.

First, the commission of Oyer and Terminer was read by the clerk of the crown-office, and the prisoner bid to hold-up his hand; and then presently the indictment, which was in effect as followeth:

" That he did conspire and go about to deprive the king of his government, to raise up sedition within the realm, to alter religion, to bring in the Roman superstition, and to procure foreign enemies to invade the kingdom. That the Lord Cobham, the 9th of June last, did meet with the said Sir Walter Ralegh, in Durham-house, in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, and then and there had conference with him how to advance Arabella Stuart to the crown and royal throne of this kingdom. And that then and there it was agreed, that

Cobham

should treat with Aremberg, ambassador from the Archduke of Austria, to obtain of him 600,000 crowns to bring to pass the pretended treason. It was agreed that Cobham should go to the Archduke Albert, to procure him to advance the pretended title of Arabella. From thence, knowing that Albert had not sufficient means to maintain his own army in the Low-countries, Cobham should go to Spain, to procure the king to assist and farther her pretended title. It was agreed, the better to effect all this conspiracy, that Arabella should write three letters, one to the Archduke, another to the King of Spain, and a third to the Duke of Savoy, and promise three things:

First, To establish a firm peace between England and Spain.

Secondly, To tolerate the popish and Roman superstition.

Thirdly, To be ruled by them in contracting of her marriage.

And for the effecting of these traiterous purposes, Cobham should return by the Isle of Jersey, and should find Sir Walter Ralegh, captain of the said Isle, there, and take counsel of Ralegh for the distributing of the aforesaid crowns, as the occasion or discontentment of the subjects should give cause and way.

And farther, that Cobham and his brother, Brook, met on the 9th of June last, and Cobham told Brook all these treasons: to the which treasons Brook gave his assent, and did join himself to all these. And after, on the Thursday following, Cobham and Brook did speak these words; *that there would never be a good world in England, till the king*, (meaning our sovereign lord) *and his cubs* (meaning his royal issue) *were taken away.*

And the more to disable and deprive the king of his crown, and to confirm the said Cobham in his intents, Ralegh did publish a book, falsely written against the most just and royal title of the king, knowing the said book to be written against the just title of the king; which book Cobham after that received of him. Farther, for the better effecting these traiterous purposes, and to establish the said Brook in his intent, the said Cobham did deliver the said book unto him the 14th of June. And farther, the said Cobham, on the 16th of June,

for accomplishment of the said conference, and by the traiterous instigation of Ralegh, did move Brook to incite Arabella to write to the three forenamed princes, to procure them to advance her title; and that she, after she had obtained the crown, should promise to perform three things, *viz.* I. Peace between England and Spain. II. To tolerate with impunity the popish and Roman superstitions. III. To be ruled by them three in the contracting of her marriage.

To these motions the said Brook gave his assent. And for the better effecting of the said treasons, Cobham on the 17th of June, by the instigation of Ralegh, did write letters to Count Aremberg, and did deliver the said letters to one Matthew de Lawrency, to be delivered to the said count, which he did deliver, for the obtaining of the 600,000 crowns; which money by other letters Count Aremberg did promise to perform the payment of; and this letter Cobham received the 18th of June. And then did Cobham promise to Ralegh, that when he had received the said money, he would deliver 8000 crowns to him, to which motion he did consent; and afterward Cobham offered Brook, that after he should receive the said crowns, he would give to him 10,000 thereof; to which motion Brook did assent."

To the indictment, Sir Walter Ralegh pleaded NOT GUILTY.

The JURY [28].

Sir RALPH CONISBY,	Sir EDWARD PEACOCK,	Knights.
Sir THOMAS FOWLER,	Sir WILLIAM ROWE,	
HENRY GOODYER,	ROGER WOOD,	Esquires.
THOMAS WALKER,	THOMAS WHITBY,	
THOMAS HIGHGATE,	JOHN CHAWKEY,	Gentlemen.
ROBERT KEMPTON,	ROBERT BROMLEY,	

Sir Walter Ralegh, prisoner, was asked, whether he would take exceptions to any of the jury?

[28] In the Observations on Sanderson's History already referred to (Note 11.) we read, *there was appointed for Ralegh another jury, the foreman of which was Sir Michael Stanhope, the next Sir Edward Darcy, the next Sir William Killegrew, all men of honour, and near servants to the late Queen Elizabeth. But these being found not for their turn, they were all changed overnight, and these others (named in the common printed trial,) put in their places.*

Ralegh.

Ralegh. I know none of them; they are all Christians, and honest men. I except against none.

Suffolk. You, gentlemen of the king's learned counsel, follow the course as you did the other day.

Ralegh. My lord, I pray you I may answer the points particularly as they are delivered, by reason of the weakness of my memory and sickness.

L. Ch. Just. Popham. After the king's learned counsel have delivered all the evidence, Sir Walter, you may answer particularly to what you will.

Heale, the King's Serjeant at Law. You have heard of Ralegh's bloody attempts to kill the king and his royal progeny, and in place thereof, to advance one Arabella Stuart. The particulars of the indictment are these: first, that Ralegh met with Cobham the 9th of June, and had conference of an invasion, of a rebellion, and an insurrection, to be made by the king's subjects, to depose the king, and to kill his children, poor babes, that never gave offence. Here is blood, here is a new king and governor. In our king consists all our happiness, and the true use of the Gospel; a thing which we all wish to be settled, after the death of the queen. Here must be money to do this, for money is the sinew of war. Where should that be had? Count Aremberg must procure it of Philip King of Spain, five or six hundred thousand crowns; and out of this sum Ralegh must have eight thousand. But what is that Count Aremberg? Though I am no good Frenchman, yet it is as much as to say in English, Earl of Aremberg. Then there must be friends to effect this: Cobham must go to Albert Archduke of Austria, for whom Aremberg was ambassador at that time in England. And what then? He must persuade the duke to assist the pretended title of Arabella. From thence Cobham must go to the King of Spain, and persuade him to assist the said title. Since the conquest, there was never the like treason! But out of whose head came it? Out of Ralegh's, who must also advise Cobham to use his brother Brooke to incite the Lady Arabella to write three several letters, as aforesaid, in the indictment:

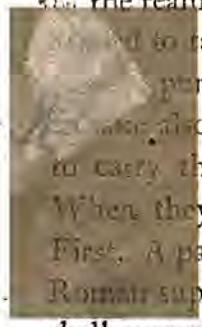
all this was on the 9th of June. Then three days after, Brooke was acquainted with it. After this, Cobham said to Brooke, *it will never be well in England, till the king and his cubs are taken away.* Afterward, Ralegh delivered a book to Cobham, treacherously written against the title of the king. It appears that Cobham took Ralegh to be either a God, or an idol. Cobham endeavours to set up a new king, or governor: God forbid mine eyes should ever see so unhappy a change! As for the Lady Arabella, she, upon my conscience, hath no more title to the crown than I have, which before God I utterly renounce. Cobham, a man bred in England, hath no experience abroad; but Ralegh, a man of great wit, military, and a sword-man. Now whether these things were bred in a hollow tree, I leave to them to speak of, who can speak far better then myself—*and so sat down again.*

Sir Ed. Coke, the King's Attorney. I must first, my lords, before I come to the cause, give one caution, because we shall often mention persons of eminent places, some of them great monarchs: whatever we say of them, we shall but repeat what others have said of them; I mean the capital offenders in their confessions. We professing law, must speak reverently of kings and potentates. I perceive these honourable lords, and the rest of this great assembly, are come to hear what hath been scattered upon the wrack of report. We carry a just mind, to condemn no man, but upon plain evidence. Here is mischief, mischief *in summo gradu*, exorbitant mischief. My speech shall chiefly touch these three points; *imitation*, *supportation*, and *defence*.

The imitation of evil ever exceeds the precedent; as on the contrary, imitation of good ever comes short. Mischief cannot be supported but by mischief; yea, it will so multiply, that it will bring all to confusion. Michief is ever underproped by falshood or foul practices; and because all these things did concur in this treason, you shall understand the main, as before you did the bye.

The treason of the bye consisteth in these points; first, that the Lord Grey, Brook, Markham, and the rest, intended by force in the night to surprise the king's court; which was a rebellion in the heart

of



the realm, yea, in the heart of the heart, in the court. They intend to take him that is a sovereign, to make him subject to their purposing to open the doors with musquets and calivers, and to the prince and council: then under the king's authority to carry the king to the Tower; and to make a stale of the admiral. When they had the king there, to extort three things from him: First, A pardon for all their treasons: Secondly, A toleration of the Romish superstition, which their eyes shall sooner fall out than they shall ever see; for the king hath spoken these words in the hearing of many, *I will lose the crown and my life, before ever I will alter religion.* And, Thirdly, To remove counsellors. In the room of the Lord Chancellor, they would have placed one Watson, a priest, absurd in humanity, and ignorant in divinity. Brook, of whom I will speak nothing, Lord Treasurer. The great Secretary must be Markham; *oculus patriæ.* A hole must be found in my lord chief justice's coat. Grey must be Earl-marshal, and Master of the Horse, because he would have a table in the court; marry, he would advance the Earl of Worcester to a higher place[29]. All this cannot be done without a multitude: therefore Watson, the priest, tells a resolute man, that the king was in danger of Puritans and Jesuits; so to bring him in blindfold into the action, saying, that the king is no king till he be crowned; therefore every man might right his own wrongs: but he is *rex natus*, his dignity descends as well as yours, My Lords. Then Watson imposeth a blasphemous oath, that they should swear to defend the king's person; to keep secret what was given them in charge, and seek all ways and means to advance the catholic religion. Then they intend to send for the lord mayor and the aldermen, in the king's name, to the Tower, lest they should make any resistance, and then to take hostages of them; and to enjoin them to provide for them victuals and munition. Grey, because the king removed before Midsummer, had a farther reach, to get a company of swordmen to assist the action: therefore he would stay till he had obtained a regiment from Ostend or Austria. So you see

[29] Fuller, in his Church History, observes, *Sir Walter Ralegh, able to discharge any, had no particular office assigned unto him.*

these

these treasons were like Samson's foxes, which were joined in their tails, though their heads were severed.

Ralegh. You, gentlemen of the jury, I pray remember, I am not charged with the bye, being the treason of the priest.

Attorney. You are not. My Lords, you shall observe three things in the treasons: First, they had a watch-word, (the king's safety); their pretence was *bonum in se*; their intent was *malum in se*. Secondly, they avouched Scripture; both the priests had *scriptum est*; perverting and ignorantly mistaking the Scriptures. Thirdly, they avouched the common law, to prove that he was no king till he was crowned; alledging a statute of 13 Eliz. This, by way of imitation, hath been the course of all traitors.

In the 20th of Edward II. Isabella the queen, and the Lord Mortimer, gave out, that the king's person was not safe, for the good of the church and commonwealth.

The bishop of Carlisle did preach on this text, *My head is grieved*, meaning by the head, the king; that when the head began to be negligent, the people might reform what is amiss.

In the 3d of Henry IV. Sir Roger Clarendon, accompanied with two priests, gave out that Richard II. was alive, when he was dead.

Edward III. caused Mortimer's head to be cut-off, for giving counsel to murder the king.

The 3d of Henry VII. Sir Henry Stanley found the crown in the dust, and set it on the king's head; when Fitzwater and Garret told him that Edward V. was alive, he said, *If he be alive, I will assist him.* But this cost him his head.

Edmund de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, killed a man in the reign of King Henry VII. for which the king would have him hold-up his hand at the bar, and then pardoned him: yet he took such an offence thereat, that he sent to the noblemen to help to reform the commonwealth; and then said he would go to France and get power there. Sir Roger Compton knew all the treason, and discovered Windon and others, that were attainted.

He

He said, there was another thing that would be stood-upon, namely, that they had but one witness. Then he vouched one Appleyard's case, a traitor in Norfolk, who said, a man must have two accusers. Helms was the man that accused him; but Mr. Justice Catlin said, that that statute was not in force at that day. His words were, *thrust her into the ditch.*

Then he went on speaking of accusers, and made this difference. An accuser is a speaker by report, when a witness is he that upon his oath shall speak his knowledge of any man.

A third sort of evidence there is likewise, and this is held more forcible than either of the other two; and that is, when a man by his accusation of another, shall, by the same accusation, also condemn himself, and make himself liable to the same fault and punishment: this is more forcible than many witnesses. So then so much by way of imitation.

Then he defined treason. There is treason in the heart, in the hand, in the mouth, in consummation—comparing that *in corde* to the root of a tree; *in ore,* to the bud; *in manu,* to the blossom; and that which is *in consummatione,* to the fruit.

Now I come to your charge, you of the jury. The greatness of treason is to be considered in these two things, *determinatione finis,* and *electione mediorum.* This treason excelleth in both, for that it was to destroy the king and his progeny. These treasons are said to be *crimen læsæ Majestatis;* this goeth farther, and may be termed, *crimen extirpandæ Regiæ Majestatis, et totius progeniei suæ.* I shall not need, My Lords, to speak any thing concerning the king, nor of the bounty and sweetness of his nature, whose thoughts are innocent, whose words are full of wisdom and learning, and whose works are full of honour; although it be a true saying, *nanquam nimis quod nunquam satis.* But to whom *do* you bear malice? to the children?

Ralegh. To whom speak you this? you tell me news I never heard of.

Attorney. O Sir! do I? I will prove you the notoriest traitor that ever came to the bar. After you have taken away the king, you would alter

alter religion; as you, Sir Walter Ralegh, have followed them of the bye in imitation, for I will charge you with the words.

Ralegh. Your words cannot condemn me; my innocency is my defence. Prove one of these things wherewith you have charged me, and I will confess the whole indictment, and that I am the horriblest traitor that ever lived, and worthy to be crucified with a thousand thousand torments.

Attorney. Nay, I will prove all: thou art a monster, thou hast an English face, but a Spanish heart. Now you must have money: Aremberg was no sooner in England (I charge thee Ralegh) but thou incitedst Cobham to go unto him, and to deal with him for money, to bestow on discontented persons, to raise rebellion on the kingdom.

Ralegh. Let me answer for myself.

Attorney. Thou shalt not.

Ralegh. It concerneth my life.

Ld. Ch. Just. Sir Walter Ralegh, Mr. Attorney is but yet in the general; but when the king's counsel have given the evidence wholly, you shall answer every particular.

Attorney. Oh! do I touch you?

Lord Cecil. Mr. Attorney, when you have done with this general charge, do you not mean to let him answer every particular?

Attorney. Yes, when we deliver the proofs to be read. Ralegh procured Cobham to go to Aremberg, which he did by his instigation: Ralegh supped with Cobham before he went to Aremberg: after supper, Ralegh conducted him to Durham-house; from thence Cobham went with Lawrency, a servant of Aremberg's, unto him, and went in by a back-way. Cobham could never be quiet until he had entertained this motion, for he had four letters from Ralegh. Aremberg answered, the money should be performed, but knew not to whom it should be distributed. Then Cobham and Lawrency came back to Durham-house, where they found Ralegh. Cobham and Ralegh went up, and left Lawrency below, where they had secret conference in a gallery; and after, Cobham and Lawrency departed from Ralegh. Your jargon was peace: what is that? Spanish invasion

sion, Scottish subversion. And again, you are not a fit man to take so much money for procuring of a lawful peace, for peace procured by money is dishonourable. Then Cobham must go to Spain, and return by Jersey, where you were captain: and then, because Cobham had not so much policy, or at least wickedness, as you, he must have your advice for the distribution of the money. Would you have deposed so good a king, lineally desended of Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV.? Why then must you set up another? I think you meant to make Arabella a titular queen, of whose title I will speak nothing; but sure you meant to make her a stale. Ah! good lady, you could mean her no good.

Ralegh. You tell me news, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. O Sir! I am the more large, because I know with whom I deal: for we have to deal to-day with a man of wit.

Ralegh. Did I ever speak with this lady?

Attorney. I will track you out before I have done. Englishmen will not be led by persuasion of words, but they must have books to persuade.

Ralegh. The book was written by a man of your profession, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. I would not have you impatient.

Ralegh. Methinks you fall out with yourself; I say nothing.

Attorney. By this book you would persuade men, that he is not the lawful king. Now let us consider some circumstances. My Lords, you know my Lord Cobham, for whom we all lament and rejoice. Lament in that his house, which hath stood so long unspotted, is now ruinated; rejoice, in that his treasons are revealed. He is neither politician nor sword-man, Ralegh was both, united in the cause with him, and therefore cause of his destruction. Another circumstance is, the secret contriving of it. Humphrey Stafford claimed sanctuary for treason: Ralegh in his Machiavelian policy, hath made a sanctuary for treason: he must talk with none but Cobham; because, saith he, one witness can never condemn me. For Brooke said unto Sir Griffith Markham, *take heed how you do make my Lord Cob-*

ham acquainted: for whatsoever he knoweth, Ralegh the witch will get it out of him. As soon as Ralegh was examined on one point of treason concerning my Lord Cobham, he wrote to him thus; *I have been examined of you and confessed nothing.* Farther, you sent to him by your trusty Francis Keymis, that one witness could not condemn; and therefore bade his lordship be of good courage. Came this out of Cobham's quiver? No: but out of Ralegh's Machiavelian and devilish policy. Yea, but Cobham did retract it; why then did ye urge it? Now then see the most horrible practices that ever came out of the bottomless pit of the lowest hell. After that Ralegh had intelligence that Cobham had accused him, he endeavoured to have intelligence from Cobham, which he had gotten by young Sir John Payton: but I think it was the error of his youth.

Ralegh. The lords told it me, or else I had not been sent to the Tower.

Attorney. Thus Cobham, by the instigation of Ralegh, entered into these actions: so that the question will be, whether you are not the principal traitor, and he would nevertheless have entered into it? Why did Cobham retract all that same? First, because Ralegh was so odious, he thought he should fare the worse for his sake. Secondly, he thought thus with himself; if he be free, I shall clear myself the better. After this, Cobham asked for a preacher to confer with, pretending to have Dr. Andrews; but indeed he meant not to have him, but Mr. Galloway; a worthy and reverend preacher, who can do more with the king (as he said) than any other; that he, seeing his constant denial, might inform the king thereof. Here he plays with the preacher. If Ralegh could persuade the lords, that Cobham had no intent to travel, then he thought all should be well. Here is forgery! In the Tower Cobham must write to Sir Thomas Vane, a worthy man, that he meant not to go into Spain; which letter Ralegh devised in Cobham's name.

Ralegh. I will wash my hands of the indictment, and die a true man to the king.

Attorney. You are the absolutest traitor that ever was.

Ralegh.

Ralegh. Your phrases will not prove it, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. Cobham writeth a letter to my Lord Cecil, and doth will Mellis' man to lay it in a Spanish bible, and to make as though he found it by chance. This was after he had intelligence with this viper, that he was false.

Lord Cecil. You mean a letter intended to me; I never had it.

Attorney. No, my Lord, you had it not. You, my masters of the jury, respect not the wickedness and hatred of the man, respect his cause: if he be guilty, I know you will have care of it, for the preservation of the king, the continuance of the Gospel authorized, and the good of us all.

Ralegh. I do not hear yet, that you have spoken one word against me; here is no treason of mine done: if my Lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me?

Attorney. All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper; for I *thou* thee, thou traitor.

Ralegh. It becometh not a man of quality and virtue, to call me so: but I take comfort in it, it is all you can do.

Attorney. Have I angered you?

Ralegh. I am in no case to be angry.

C. J. Popham. Sir Walter Ralegh, Mr. Attorney speaketh out of the zeal of his duty, for the service of the king, and you for your life; be valiant on both sides.

Now they proceed to the reading the proofs.

The Lord COBHAM's *Examination read.*

He confesseth, he had a passport to go into Spain, intending to go to the archduke, to confer with him about these practices; and because he knew the archduke had not money to pay his own army, from thence he meant to go to Spain, to deal with the king for the 600,000 crowns, and to return by Jersey; and that nothing should be done, until he had spoken with Sir Walter Ralegh for distribution of the money to them which were discontented in England. At the,

first beginning, he breathed out oaths and exclamations against Ralegh, calling him villain and traitor; saying, he had never entered into these courses, but by his instigation, and that he would never let him alone.

Here Mr. Attorney willed the Clerk of the Crown-office to read over these last Words again, (he would never let him alone.)

The Lord COBHAM's *Examination.*

Beside he spake of plots and invasions; of the particulars whereof he could give no account, though Ralegh and he had conferred of them. Farther he said, he was afraid of Ralegh, that when he should return by Jersey, that he would have delivered him and the money to the king. Being examined of Sir Arthur Gorge, he freed him saying, they never durst trust him; but Sir Arthur Savage they intended to use, because they thought him a fit man.

Ralegh. Let me see the accusation: this is absolutely all the evidence can be brought against me; poor shifts! You gentlemen of the jury, I pray you understand this. This is that which must either condemn, or give me life; which must free me, or send my wife and children to beg their bread about the streets: this is that must prove me a notorious traitor, or a true subject to the king. Let me see my accusation, that I may make my answer.

Clerk of the Council. I did read it, and shew you all the examinations.

Ralegh. At my first examination at Windsor, my Lords asked me, what I knew of Cobham's practice with Aremberg, I answered negatively: and as concerning Arabella, I protest before God, I never heard one word of it. If that be proved, let me be guilty of ten thousand treasons. It is a strange thing you will impute that to me, when I never heard so much as the name of Arabella Stuart, but only the name of Arabella.

After being examined, I told my Lords, that I thought my Lord Cobham had conference with Aremberg; I suspected his visiting of him:

him: for after he departed from me at Durham-house, I saw him pass by his own stairs, and passed over to St. Mary Saviours, where I knew Lawrency, a merchant and a follower of Aremberg, lay, and therefore likely to go unto him. My Lord Cecil asked my opinion concerning Lawrency. I said, that if you do not apprehend Lawrency, it is dangerous, he will fly; if you do apprehend him, you shall give my Lord Cobham notice thereof. I was asked who was the greatest man with my Lord Cobham; I answered, I knew no man so great with him as young Wyat of Kent.

As soon as Cobham saw my letter to have discovered his dealing with Aremberg, in his fury he accused me; but before he came to the stair-foot he repented, and said he had done me wrong. When he came to the end of his accusation, he added, that if he had brought this money to Jersey, he feared that I would have delivered him and the money to the king. Mr. Attorney, you said this never came out of Cobham's quiver; he is a simple man. Is he so simple? no; he hath a disposition of his own, he will not easily be guided by others; but when he has once taken head in a matter, he is not easily drawn from it; he is no babe. But it is strange for me to devise with Cobham, that he should go to Spain, to persuade the king to disburse so much money, he being a man of no love in England, and I having resigned my room of chiefest command, the wardenship of the stannaries. Is it not strange for me to make myself Robin Hood, or a Kett, or a Cade? I knowing England to be in a better estate to defend itself than ever it was. I knew Scotland united; Ireland quieted, wherein of late our forces were dispersed; Denmark assured, which before was suspected. I knew, that having lost a lady whom time had surprised, we had now an active king, a lawful successor, who would himself be present in all his affairs. The state of Spain was not unknown to me: I had written a discourse, which I had intended to present unto the king, against peace with Spain. I knew the Spaniards had six repulses; three in Ireland, and three at sea, and once in 1588, at Cales, by my Lord Admiral. I knew he was discouraged and dishonoured. I knew the King of Spain to be the proudest prince

in

in Christendom; but now he cometh creeping to the king my master for peace. I knew, whereas before he had in his port six or seven score sail of ships, he hath now but six or seven. I knew of twenty-five millions he had from his Indies, he hath scarce one left. I knew him to be so poor, that the Jesuits in Spain, who were wont to have such large allowance, were fain to beg at the church-door. Was it ever read or heard, that any prince should disburse so much money without a sufficient pawn? I knew her own subjects, the citizens of London, would not lend Her Majesty money, without lands in mortgage. I knew the queen did not lend the States money, without Flushing, Brill, and other towns for a pawn. And can it be thought, that he would let Cobham have so great a sum?

I never came to the Lord Cobham's, but about matters of his profit; as the ordering of his house, paying of his servants' board-wages, *&c.* I had of his, when I was examined, four thousand pound-worth of jewels for a purchase; a pearl of three thousand pounds and a ring worth five hundred pounds. If he had had a fancy to run away, he would not have left so much to have purchased a lease in fee-farm. I saw him buy three hundred pounds-worth of books to send to his library at Canterbury, and a cabinet of thirty pound to give to Mr. Attorney for drawing the conveyances: and God in heaven knoweth, not I, whether he intended to travel or no. But for that practice with Arabella, or letters to Aremberg framed, or any discourse with him, or in what language he spake unto him; if I knew any of these things, I would absolutely confess the indictment, and acknowledge myself worthy ten thousand deaths.

COBHAM's *second Examination read.*

The Lord Cobham being required to subscribe to an examination, here was shewed a note under Sir Walter Ralegh's hand; the which when he had perused, he paused, and after brake forth into these speeches: Oh villain! Oh traitor! I will now tell you all the truth; and then said, his purpose was to go into Flanders, and into Spain,

for

for the obtaining the aforesaid money; and that Ralegh had appointed to meet him in Jersey as he returned home, to be advised of him about the distribution of the money.

L. C. J. Popham. When Cobham answered to the interrogatories, he made scruple to subscribe; and being urged to it, he said, if he might hear me affirm, that a person of his degree ought to set his hand, he would. I, lying then at Richmond for fear of the plague, was sent for, and I told he ought to subscribe, otherwise it were a contempt of a high nature. Then he subscribed. The lords questioned with him farther, and he shewed them a letter, as I thought written to me, but it was indeed written to my Lord Cecil. He desired to see the letter again, and then said, O wretch! O traitor! whereby I perceived you had not performed that trust he had reposed in you.

Ralegh. He is as passionate a man as lives; for he hath not spared the best friends he hath in England in his passion. My lords, I take it, he that has been examined, has ever been asked at the time of his examination, if it be according to his meaning, and then to subscribe. Methinks, My Lords, when he accuses a man, he should give some account and reason of it: it is not sufficient to say we talked of it. If I had been the plotter, would not I have given Cobham some arguments, whereby to persuade the King of Spain, and answer his objections? I knew Westmorland and Bothwell, men of other understandings than Cobham, were ready to beg their bread.

Sir Tho. Fowler, one of the jury. Did Sir Walter Ralegh write a letter to My Lord, before he was examined concerning him, or not?

Attorney. Yes.

Lord Cecil. I am in great dispute with myself to speak in the case of this gentleman; a former dearness between me and him, tied so firm a knot of my conceit of his virtues, now broken by a discovery of his imperfections. I protest, did I serve a king that I knew would be displeased with me for speaking, in this case I would speak,

speak, whatever came of it; but seeing he is compacted of piety and justice, and one that will not mislike of any man for speaking a truth, I will answer your question.

Sir Walter Ralegh was staid by me at Windsor, upon the first news of Copley, that the king's person should be surprised by my Lord Grey, and Mr. George Brooke. When I found Brooke was in, I suspected Cobham, then I doubted Ralegh to be a partaker. I speak not this, that it should be thought I had greater judgment than the rest of my Lords, in making this haste to have them examined. Ralegh following to Windsor, I met with him upon the terrace, and willed him, as from the king, to stay; saying, the the lords had something to say to him: then he was examined, but not concerning my Lord Cobham, but of the surprising treason. My Lord Grey was apprehended, and likewise Brooke. By Brooke we found, that he had given notice to Cobham of the surprising treason, as he delivered it to us; but with as much sparingness of a brother, as he might. We sent for my Lord Cobham to Richmond, where he stood upon his justification, and his quality; sometimes being froward, he said he was not bound to subscribe, wherewith we made the king acquainted. Cobham said, if my lord chief justice would say it were a contempt, he would subscribe; whereof being resolved, he subscribed. There was a light given to Aremberg, that Lawrency was examined; but that Ralegh knew that Cobham was examined, is more than I know.

Ralegh. If my Lord Cobham had trusted me in the main, was not I as fit a man to be truſted in the bye?

Lord Cecil. Ralegh did by his letters acquaint us that my Lord Cobham had sent Lawrency to Aremberg, when he knew not he had any dealings with him.

Lord Hen. Howard. It made for you, if Lawrency had been only acquainted with Cobham, and not with you. But you knew his whole eſtate, and were acquainted with Cobham's practice with Lawrency; and it was known to you before, that Lawrency depended on Aremberg.

Attorney.

Attorney. I. Ralegh protested against the surprising treason. II. That he knew not of the matter touching Arabella. I would not charge you, Sir Walter, with a matter of falsehood; you say you suspected the intelligence that Cobham had with Aremberg by Lawrency.

Ralegh. I thought it had been no other intelligence, but such as might be warranted.

Attorney. Then it was but lawful suspicion. But to that whereas you said, that Cobham had accused you in passion, I answer three ways: I. I observed when Cobham said, "let me see the letter again," he paused; and when he did see that Count Arembeg was touched, he cried out, O traitor! O villain! now will I confess the whole truth. II. The accusation of a man on hearsay, is nothing. Would he accuse himself on passion, and ruinate his case and posterity, out of malice to accuse you? III. Could this be out of passion? Mark the manner of it; Cobham had told this at least two months before to his brother Brooke, *You are fools, you are on the bye, Ralegh and I are on the main; we mean to take away the king and his cubs:* this he delivered two months before. So mark the manner and the matter; he would not turn the weapon against his own bosom, and accuse himself to accuse you.

Ralegh. Hath Cobham confessed that?

Lord Ch. Just. This is spoken by Mr. Attorney, to prove that Cobham's speech came not out of passion.

Ralegh. Let it be proved that Cobham said so.

Attorney. Cobham saith, he was a long time doubtful of Ralegh, that he would send him and the money to the king. Did Cobham fear lest you would betray him in Jersey? Then of necessity there must be trust between you. No man can betray a man but he that is trusted, in my understanding. This is the greatest argument to prove that he was acquainted with Cobham's proceedings. Ralegh has a deeper reach, than to make himself, as he said, *Robin Hood,* a *Kett,* or *Cade;* yet I never heard that Robin Hood was a traitor; they sav he was an outlaw. And whereas he saith that our

king is not only more wealthy and potent than his predecessors, but also more politic and wise, so that he could have no hope to prevail; I answer, there is not king so potent, wise and active, but he may be overtaken through treason. Whereas you say Spain is so poor, discoursing so largely thereof, it had been better for you to have kept in Guiana, than to have been so well acquainted with the state of Spain. Beside, if you could have brought Spain and Scotland to have joined, you might have hoped to prevail a great deal the better. For his six overthrows, I answer, he hath the more malice, because repulses breed desire of revenge. Then you say you never talked with Cobham, but about leases, and letting lands, and ordering his house; I never knew you clerk of the kitchen, *&c.* If you had fallen on your knees at first and confessed the treason, it had been better for you. You say, he meant to have given me a cabinet of thirty pounds; perhaps he thought by those means to have anticipated me therewith. But you say all these are circumstances. I answer, all this accusation in circumstance is true. Here now I might appeal to my Lords, that you take hold of this, that he subscribed not to the accusation.

Lord Hen. Howard. Cobham was not then pressed to subscribe.

Attorney. His accusation being testified by the lords, is of as great force as if he had subscribed. Ralegh saith again, *If the accuser be alive, he must be brought face to face to speak*; and alledges 25 Edward III. that there must be two sufficient witnesses, that must be brought face to face before the accused; and alledgeth 10 and 13 Elizabeth.

Ralegh. You try me by the Spanish inquisition, if you proceed only by the circumstances, without two witnesses.

Attorney. This is a treasonable speech.

Ralegh. Evertere hominem justum in causa sua injustum est. Good my Lords, let it be proved, either by the laws of the land or the laws of God, that there ought not to be two witnesses appointed. Yet I will not stand to defend this point in law, if the king will have it so. It is no rare thing for a man to be falsely accused. A

judge

judge condemned a woman in Sarum for killing her husband on the testimony of one witness. Afterward his man confessed the murder, when she was executed. Who, after being touched in conscience for the judgment, was used to say, *quod nunquam de hoc facto animam in vita sua purgaret.* It is also commanded by the Scripture, *allocutus est Jehova Mosen, in ore duorum aut trium testium,* &c.

If Christ required it, as it appeareth, Matth. xviii. if by the canon, civil law, and God's word, it be required that there must be two witnesses at the least, bear with me if I desire one.

I would not desire to live, if I were privy to Cobham's proceedings. I have been a slave, a villain, a fool, if I had endeavoured to set up Arabella, and refused so gracious a lord and sovereign. But urge your proofs.

Ld. Ch. Just. You have offered questions on divers statutes, all which mention two accusers in case of indictments; you have deceived yourself, for the laws of 25 Edward III. and 5 Edward VI. are repealed. It sufficeth now if there be proofs made either under hand, or by testimony of witnesses, or by oaths, it needs not the subscription of the party, so there be hands of credible men to testify the examination.

Ralegh. It may be an error in me; and if those laws be repealed, yet I hope the equity of them remains still; but if you affirm it, it must be a law to posterity. The proof of the common law is by witness and jury. Let Cobham be here, let him speak it. Call my accuser before my face, and I have done.

Attorney. Scientia sceleris est mera ignorantia. You have read the letter of the law, but understand it not. Here was your anchorhold and your rendezvous: you trust to Cobham; either Cobham must accuse you, or nobody; if he did, then it would not hurt you, because he is but one witness; if he did not, then you are safe.

Ralegh. If ever I read a word of the law or statute, before I was prisoner in the Tower, God confound me!

Attorney. Now I come to prove the circumstances of the accusa-

tion to be true. Cobham confessed he had a passport to travel, hereby intending to present overtures to the archduke, and from thence to go to Spain, and there to have conference with the king for money. You say he promised to come home by Jersey, to make merry with you and your wife.

Ralegh. I said in his return from France, not Spain.

Attorney. Farther, in his examination, he saith, nothing could be set down for the distribution of the money to the discontented, without conference with Ralegh. You said it should have been for procurement of peace, but it was for raising rebellion. Farther, Cobham saith, he would never have entered into these courses, but by your instigation, and that you would never let him alone. Your scholar was not apt enough to tell us all the plots; that is enough for you to do that are his master. You intended to trust Sir Arthur Savage, whom I take to be an honest and true gentleman, but not Sir Arthur Gorge.

Ralegh. All this is but one accusation of Cobham's, I hear no other thing; to which accusation he never subscribed nor avouched it, I beseech you, My Lords, let Cobham be sent for, charge him on his soul, on his allegiance to the king; if he affirm it, I am guilty.

Lord Cecil. It is the accusation of my Lord Cobham, it is the evidence against you. Must it not be of force without his subscription? I desire to be resolved by the judges, whether by the law it is not a forcible argument of evidence.

Judges. My Lord, it is.

Ralegh. The king at his coronation is sworn *in omnibus judiciis suis æquitatem, non rigorem legis, observare.* By the rigour and cruelty of the law it may be a forcible evidence.

Ld. Ch. Just. That is not the rigour of the law, but the justice of the law; else when a man hath made a plain accusation, by practice he might be brought to retract it again.

Ralegh. O, My Lord, you may use equity.

Ld. Ch.

Ld. Ch. Just. That is from the king, you are to have justice from us.

Lord Anderson. The law is, if the matter be proved to the jury, they must find you guilty; for Cobham's accusation is not only against you, there are other things sufficient.

Lord Cecil. Now that Sir Walter Ralegh is satisfied that Cobham's subscription is not necessary, I pray you, Mr. Attorney go on.

Ralegh. Good Mr. Attorney, be patient, and give me leave.

Lord Cecil. An unnecessary patience is a hindrance; let him go on with his proofs, and then refel them.

Ralegh. I would answer particularly.

Lord Cecil. If you would have a table and pen and ink, you shall.

Then paper and ink was given him.

Here the clerk of the crown read the letter which the Lord Cobham did write in July, which was to the effect of his former examination: farther saying, I have disclosed all; to accuse any one falsely, were to burden my own conscience.

Attorney. Read Copley's confession the 8th of June; he saith he was offered 1000 crowns to be in this action.

Here WATSON's *Additions were read.*

The great mass of money from the count was impossible, *&c.*

BROOKE's *Confession read.*

There have letters passed, saith he, between Cobham and Aremberg for a great sum of money to assist a second action, for the surprising of His Majesty.

Attorney. It is not possible it was of passion; for it was in talk before three men, being severally examined, who agreed in the sum to be bestowed on discontented persons; that Grey should have 12,000 crowns, and Ralegh should have 8000, or 10,000 crowns.

COBHAM's *Examination, July* 18.

If the money might be procured, saith he, then a man may give pensions.

pensions. Being asked if a pension should not be given to his brother Brooke, he denied it not.

LAWRENCY's *Examination.*

Within five days after Aremberg arrived, Cobham resorted unto him. That night that Cobham went to Aremberg with Lawrency Ralegh supped with him.

Attorney. Ralegh must have his part of the money, therefore now he is a traitor. The crown shall never stand one year on the head of the king, my master, if a traitor may not be condemned by circumstances: for, if A. tells B. and B. tells C. and C. D. *&c.* you shall never prove treason by two witnesses.

RALEGH's *Examination was read.*

He confesseth Cobham offered him 8000 crowns, which he was to have for the fartherance of the peace between England and Spain; and that he should have it within three days. To which he said he gave this answer, when I see the money I will tell you more; for I had thought it had been one of his ordinary idle conceits, and therefore made no account thereof.

Ralegh. The Attorney hath made a long narration of Copley, and the priests, which concerns me nothing, neither know I how Cobham was altered. For he told me, if I would agree to farther the peace, he would get me 8000 crowns. I asked him, who shall have the rest of the money? He said I will offer such a nobleman *(who was not named)* some of the money. I said, he will not be persuaded by you, and he will extremely hate you for such a motion. Let me be pinched to death with hot irons, if ever I knew there was any intention to bestow the money on discontented persons! I had made a discourse against the peace, and would have printed it. If Cobham changed his mind, if the priests, if Brooke had any such intent, what is that to me? They must answer for it. He offered me the money before Aremberg came, that is difference of time.

Serj. Philips. Ralegh confesseth the matter, but avoideth it by distinguising of times. You said it was offered you before the coming

coming of Aremberg, which is false. For you being examined whether you should have such money of Cobham, or not; you said, yea, and that you should have it within two or three days. *Nemo moriturus præsumitur mentiri.*

Ld. Henry Howard. Alledge me any ground or cause, wherefore you gave ear to my Lord Cobham for receiving pensions, in matters you had not to deal with.

Ralegh. Could I stop my Lord Cobham's mouth?

Ld. Cecil. Sir Walter Ralegh presseth that my Lord Cobham should be brought face to face. If he asks things of favour and grace, they must come only from him that can give them. If we sit here as commissioners, how shall we be satisfied whether he ought to be brought, unless we hear the judges speak?

Ld. Ch. Just. This thing cannot be granted, for then a number of treasons should flourish. The accuser may be drawn by practice, whilst he is in person.

Judge Gawdy. The statute you speak of concerning two witnesses in case of treason, is found to be inconvenient, therefore by another law it was taken away.

Ralegh. The common trial of England is by jury and witnesses.

Ld. Ch. Just. No, by examination. If three conspire a treason, and they all confess it; here is never a witness, yet they are condemned.

Judge Warburton. I marvel, Sir Walter, that you being of such experience and wit, should stand on this point; for so many horse-stealers may escape, if they may not be condemned without witnesses. If one should rush into the king's privy chamber, while he is alone, and kill the king (which God forbid,) and this man be met coming with his sword drawn all bloody, shall not he be condemned to death? My Lord Cobham hath, perhaps, been laboured withal; and, to save you, his old friend, it may be that he will deny all that which he hath said.

Ralegh. I know not how you conceive the law.

Ld. Ch. Just. Nay, we do not conceive the law, but we know the law.

Ralegh. The wisdom of the law of God is absolute and perfect, *Hæc fac, et vives*, &c. But now by the wisdom of the state, the wisdom of the law is uncertain. Indeed, where the accuser is not to be had conveniently, I agree with you; but here my accuser may; he is alive, and in the house. Susanna had been condemned, if Daniel had not cried out, *will you condemn an innocent Israelite, without examination or knowledge of the truth?* Remember, it is absolutely the commandment of God, if a false witness rise-up, you shall cause him to be brought before the judges; if he be found false, he shall have the punishment which the accused should have had. It is very sure, for My Lord to accuse me is my certain danger, and it may be a means to excuse himself.

Ld. Ch. Just. There must not such a gap be opened for the destruction of the king, as would be if we should grant this. You plead hard for yourself, but the laws plead as hard for the king. I did never hear that course to be taken in a case of treason, as to write one to another or speak one to another, during the time of their imprisonment. There hath been intelligence between you, and what underhand practices there may be, I know not. If the circumstances agree not with the evidence, we will not condemn you.

Ralegh. The king desires nothing but the knowledge of the truth, and would have no advantage taken by severity of the law. If ever we had a gracious king, now we have; I hope as he is, such are his ministers. If there be but a trial of five marks at common law, a witness must be deposed. Good my Lords, let my accuser come face to face, and be deposed.

Ld. Ch. Just. You have no law for it. God forbid any man should accuse himself upon his oath.

Attorney. The law presumes a man will not accuse himself to accuse another. You are an odious man; for Cobham thinks his cause the worse that you are in it. Now you shall hear of some stirs to be raised in Scotland.

Part

Part of COPLEY's *Examination.*

'Also Watson told me, that a special person told him that Aremberg offered to him 1000 crowns to be in that action; and that Brooke said, the stirs in Scotland came out of Ralegh's head.'

Ralegh. Brooke hath been taught his lesson.

Ld. Hen. Howard. This examination was taken before. Did I teach him his lesson?

Ralegh. I protest before God, I meant it not by any privy-counsellor; but because money is scant, he will juggle on both sides.

RALEGH' *Examination.*

'The way to invade England were to begin with stirs in Scotland.'

Ralegh. I think so still. I have spoken it to divers of the lords of the council, by way of discourse and opinion.

Attorney. Now let us come to those words, *of destroying the king and his cubs.*

Ralegh. O barbarous! if they, like unnatural villains, should use those words, shall I be charged with them? I will not hear it; I was never any plotter with them against my country, I was never false to the crown of England. I have spent 40,000 crowns of my own against the Spanish faction for the good of my country. Do you bring the words of these hellish spiders, Clark, Watson, and others, against me?

Attorney. Thou hast a Spanish heart, and thyself art a spider of hell; for thou confessest the king to be a most sweet and gracious prince, and yet hast conspired against him.

WATSON's *Examination read.*

'He said, that George Brooke told him twice, that his brother, 'the Lord Cobham, said to him, that you are but on the bye, but 'Ralegh and I on the main.'

BROOKE's *Examination read.*

'Being asked what was meant by this jargon, the bye and the 'main?

'main? he said that the Lord Cobham told him, that Grey and 'others were in the bye, he and Ralegh were on the main. 'Being asked, what expostion his brother made of these words? 'he said he is loth to repeat it; and after saith, by the main 'was meant the taking away of the king and his issue; and 'thinks, on his conscience, it was infused into his brother's head 'by Ralegh.'

COBHAM's *Examination read.*

'Being asked if ever he had said, *it will never be well in Eng-* '*land, till the king and his cubs were taken away*; he said he had 'answered before, and that he would answer no more to that 'point.'

Ralegh. I am not named in all this; there is a law of two sorts of accusers; one of his own knowledge, another by hearsay.

Earl of Suffolk. See the case of Arnold.

Ld. Ch. Just. It is the case of Sir William Thomas, and Sir Nicholas Arnold.

Ralagh. If this may be, you will have any man's life in a week.

Attorney. Ralegh saith, that Cobham was in a passion when he said so. Would he tell his brother anything of malice against Ralegh, whom he loved as his life?

Ralegh. Brooke never loved me, until his brother had accused me he said nothing.

Ld. Cecil. We have heard nothing that might lead us to think that Brooke accused you, he was only in the surprising treason; for, by accusing you he should accuse his brother.

Ralegh. He doth not much care for that.

Ld. Cecil. I must judge the best. The accusation of his brother was not voluntary; he pared every thing as much as he could to save his brother.

COBHAM's *Examination read.*

He saith, he had a book written against the title of the king, 'which

'which he had of Ralegh, and that he gave it to his brother Brooke; 'and Ralegh said it was foolishly written.'

Attorney. After the king came within twelve miles of London, Cobham never came to see him; and intended to travel without seeing the queen and the prince. Now in this discontentment you gave him the book, and he gave it his brother.

Ralegh. I never gave it him, he took it off my table. For I well remember a little before that time I received a challenge from Sir Amias Preston, and for that I did intend to answer it, I resolved to leave my estate settled, therefore laid out all my loose papers, among which was this book.

Ld. Howard. Where had you this book?

Ralegh. In the old lord-treasurer's study, after his death.

Ld. Cecil. Did you ever shew or make known the book to me?

Ralegh. No, My Lord.

Ld. Cecil. Was it one of the books which was left to me or my brother?

Ralegh. I took it out of the study in my lord-treasurer's house in the Strand.

Ld. Cecil. After my father's decease, Sir Walter Ralegh desired to search for some cosmographical descriptions of the Indies, which he thought were in his study, and were not to be had in print. Which I granted, and would have trusted Sir Walter Ralegh as soon as any man; though since for some infirmities, the bands of my affection to him have been broken; and yet reserving my duty to the king my master, which I can by no means dispense with, by God, I love him, and have a great conflict within myself! But I must needs say, Sir Walter used me a little unkindly to take the book away without my knowledge. Nevertheless, I need make no apology in behalf of my father, considering how useful and necessary it is for privy-counsellors and those in his place to intercept and keep such kind of writings. For whosoever should then search his study, may in all likelihood find all the notorious libels that were writ against the late queen; and whosoever should rummage my study, or at least my cabinet, may find se-

veral against the king, our sovereign lord, since his accession to the throne.

Ralegh. The book was in manuscript, and the late lord-treasurer had wrote in the beginning of it with his own hand, these words, *this is the book of Robert Snagg.* And I do own, as my Lord Cecil has said, that I believe they may also find in my house almost all the libels that have been writ against the late queen.

Attorney. You were no privy-counsellor, and I hope never shall be.

Ld. Cecil. He was not a sworn counsellor of state, but he has been called to consultations.

Ralegh. I think it a very severe interpretation of the law, to bring me within compass of treason for this book, writ so long ago, of which nobody had read any more than the heads of the chapters, and which was burnt by G. Brooke, without my privity; admitting I had delivered the same to the Lord Cobham, without allowing or approving, but discommending it, according to Cobham's first accusation. And put the case, I should come to my Lord Cecil, as I have often done, and find a stranger with him, with a packet of libels, and My Lord should let me have one or two of them to peruse; this I hope is no treason.

Attorney. I observe there was intelligence between you and Cobham in the Tower; for after he said it was against the king's title, he denied it again.

Sir Will. Wade. First, my Lord Cobham confesseth it, and after he had subscribed it he revoked it again. To me he always said, that the drift of it was against the king's title.

Ralegh. I protest before God and all his works, I gave him not the book!

Sir Robert Wroth speaketh, or whispereth something secretly.

Attorney. My lords, I must complain of Sir Robert Wroth; he says this evidence is not material.

Sir Robert Wroth. I never spake the words.

Attorney.

Attorney. Let Mr. Serjeant Philips testify whether he heard him say the words or no.

Ld. Cecil. I will give my word for Sir Robert Wroth.

Sir Robert Wroth. I will speak as truly as you, Mr. Attorney, for by God I never spake it!

Ld. Ch. Just. Wherefore should this book be burnt?

Ralegh. I burned it not.

Serjeant Philips. You presented your friend with it when he was discontented. If it had been before the queen's death, it had been a less matter; but you gave it him presently when he came from the king, which was the time of his discontentment.

Ralegh. Here is a book supposed to be treasonable; I never read it, commended it, or delivered it, nor urged it.

Attorney. Why, this is cunning.

Ralegh. Every thing that doth make for me is cunning, and every thing that maketh against me is probable.

Attorney. Lord Cobham saith, that Keymis came to him with a letter torn, and did wish him not to be dismayed, for one witness could not hurt him.

Ralegh. This poor man hath been close prisoner these eighteen weeks; he was offered the rack to make him confess. I never sent any such message by him. I only writ to him, to tell him what I had done with Mr. Attorney; having of his at that time a great pearl and a diamond.

Ld. H. Howard. No circumstance moveth me more than this. Keymis was never on the rack, the king gave charge that no rigour should be used.

Commissioners. We protest before God, there was no such matter intended, to our knowledges!

Ralegh. Was not the keeper of the rack sent for, and he threatened with it?

Sir W. Wade. When Mr. Solicitor and myself examined Keymis, we told him he deserved the rack, but did not threaten him with it.

Commissioners. It was more than we knew.

COBHAM's *Examination read.*

He saith, Keymis brought him a letter from Ralegh, and that part which was concerning the lords of the council was rent out. The letter contained that he was examined, and cleared himself of all; and that the Lord Henry Howard said, because he was discontent, he was fit to be in the action. And farther, that Keymis said to him from Ralegh, that he should be of good comfort, for one witness could not condemn a man for treason.

Ld. Cecil. Cobham was asked, whether, and when, he heard from you? He said, every day.

Ralegh. Keymis added more, I never bade him speak those words.

Mr. Attorney here offered to interrupt him.

Ld. Cecil. It is last his discourse; give him leave, Mr. Attorney.

Ralegh. I am accused concerning Arabella, concerning money out of Spain. My lord chief justice saith, a man may be condemned with one witness, yea, without any witness. Cobham is guilty of many things, *conscientia mille testes*; he hath accused himself, what can he hope for but mercy? My Lords, vouchsafe me this grace; let him be brought, being alive and in the house; let him avouch any of these things, I will confess the whole indictment and renounce the king's mercy.

Ld. Cecil. Here hath been a touch of the Lady Arabella Stuart, a near kinswoman of the king's. Let us not scandal the innocent by confusion of speech: she is as innocent of all these things as I, or any man here; only she received a letter from my Lord Cobham, to prepare her; which she laughed at, and immediately sent it to the king. So far was she from discontentment, that she laughed him to scorn. But you see how far the Count of Aremberg did consent.

The Lord Admiral (Nottingham) being by in a standing, with the Lady Arabella, spake to the court.

Ld. Adm. The Lady doth here protest upon her salvation, that she never

never dealt in any of these things; and so she willed me to tell the court.

Ld. Cecil. The Lord Cobham wrote to my Lady Arabella, to know if he might come to speak with her, and gave her to understand, that there were some about the king that laboured to disgrace her. She doubted it was but a trick. But Brooke saith, his brother moved him to procure Arabella to write letters to the King of Spain; but he saith, he never did it.

Ralegh. The Lord Cobham hath accused me, you see in what manner he hath forsworn it. Were it not for his accusation, all this were nothing. Let him be asked, if I knew of the letter which Lawrency brought to him from Aremberg. Let me speak for my life; it can be no hurt for him to be brought; he dares not accuse me. If you grant me not this favour, I am strangely used. Campian was not denied to have his accusers face to face.

Ld. Ch. Just., Since he must needs have justice, the acquitting of his old friend may move him to speak otherwise than the truth.

Ralegh. If I had been the infuser of all these treasons into him—you Gentlemen of the Jury, mark this, he said I have been the cause of all his miseries, and the destruction of his house, and that all evil hath happened unto him by my wicked counsel—if this be true, whom hath he cause to accuse and to be revenged on, but on me? and I know him to be as revengeful as any man on earth.

Attorney. He is a party, and may not come; the law is against it.

Ralegh. It is a toy to tell me of law; I defy such law, I stand on the fact.

Ld. Cecil. I am afraid my often speaking (who am inferior to my lords here present) will make the world think I delight to hear myself talk. My affection to you, Sir Walter Ralegh, was not extinguished, but slaked in regard of your deserts. You know the law of the realm (to which your mind doth not contest) that my Lord Cobham cannot be brought.

Ralegh. He may be, My Lord.

Ld. Cecil. But dare you challenge it?

Ralegh. No.

Ld. Cecil.

Ld. Cecil. You say that my Lord Cobham, your main accuser, must come to accuse you. You say he hath retracted: I say, many particulars are not retracted. What the validity of all this is, is merely left to the jury. Let me ask you this, if my Lord Cobham will say you were the only instigator of him to proceed in the treasons, dare you put yourself on this?

Ralegh. If he will speak it before God and the king, that ever I knew of Arabella's matter, or the money out of Spain, or of the surprising treason, I put myself on it, God's will and the king's be done with me.

Lord H. Howard. How! if he speak things equivalent to that you have said?

Ralegh. Yes, in the main point.

Ld. Cecil. If he say, you have been the instigator of him to deal with the Spanish King, had not the council cause to draw you hither?

Ralegh. I put myself on it.

Ld. Cecil. Then, Sir Walter Ralegh, call upon God, and prepare yourself; for I do verily believe my lords will prove this. Excepting your faults (I call them no worse) by God, I am your friend! The heat and passion in you, and the attorney's zeal in the king's service, makes me speak this.

Ralegh. Whosoever is the workman, it is reason he should give an account of his work to the work-master. But let it be proved that he acquainted me with any of his conferences with Aremberg: he would surely have given me some account.

Ld. Cecil. That follows not: if I set you on work, and you give me no account, am I therefore innocent?

Attorney. For the Lady Arabella, I said she was never acquainted with the matter. Now that Ralegh had conference in all these treasons—it is manifest the jury hath heard the matter. There is one Dyer, a pilot, that being in Lisbon, met with a Portuguese gentleman, who asked him if the king of England was crowned yet? To whom he answered, *I think not yet, but he shall be shortly.* "Nay, saith

saith the Portuguese, that shall never be, for his throat will be cut by Don Ralegh and Don Cobham before he be crowned.

DYER *was called and sworn, and delivered this Evidence.*

Dyer. I came to a merchant's house in Lisbon, to see a boy that I had there; there came a gentleman into the house, and enquiring what countryman I was, I said, an Englishman. Whereupon he asked me if the king was crowned? And I answered, no, but that I hoped he should be so shortly. Nay, saith he, he shall never be crowned; for Don Ralegh and Don Cobham will cut his throat ere that day come.

Ralegh. What infer you upon this?

Attorney. That your treason hath wings.

Ralegh. If Cobham did practice with Aremberg, how could it not but be known in Spain? Why did they name the Duke of Buckingham with Jack Straw's treason, and the Duke of York with Jack Cade, but that it was to countenance his treason?

Consider, you gentlemen of the jury, there is no cause so doubtful which the king's counsel cannot make good against the law. Consider my disability, and their ability. They prove nothing against me, only they bring the accusation of my Lord Cobham, which he hath lamented and repented as heartily, as if it had been for an horrible murder. For he knew that all this sorrow which should come to me, is by his means. Presumptions must proceed from precedent or subsequent facts. I have spent 40,000 crowns against the Spaniard. I had not purchased £. 40 a-year. If I had died in Guiana, I had not left 300 marks a-year to my wife and son. I that have always condemned the Spanish faction, methinks it is a strange thing that now I should affect it! Remember what St. Austin says, *Sic judicate tanquam ab alio mox judicandi; unus judex, unum tribunal.* If you would be contented on presumptions to be delivered up to be slaughtered, to have your wives and children turned into the streets to beg their bread; if you would be contented to be so judged, judge so of me.

Serj. Philips. I hope to make this so clear, as that the wit of man shall have no colour to answer it. The matter is treason in the highest degree, the end to deprive the king of his crown. The particular treasons are these: first, to raise up rebellion, and to effect that, to procure money; to raise up tumults in Scotland, by divulging a treasonable book against the king's right to the crown; the purpose, to take away the life of His Majesty and his issue. My Lord Cobham confesseth Sir Walter Ralegh to be guilty of all these treasons. The question is, whether he be guilty as joining with him, or instigating of him? The course to prove this, was by my Lord Cobham's accusation. If that be true, he is guilty: if not, he is clear. So whether Cobham say true, or Ralegh, that is the question. Ralegh hath no answer but the shadow of as much wit as the wit of man can devise. He useth his bare denial; the denial of a defendant must not move the jury. In the star-chamber, or in the chancery, for matter of title, if the defendant be called in question, his denial on his oath is no evidence to the court to clear him, he doth it *in propria causa*; therefore much less in matters of treason. Cobham's testification against him before them, and since, hath been largely discoursed.

Ralegh. If truth be constant, and constancy be in truth, why hath he forsworn that that he hath said? You have not proved any one thing against me by direct proofs, but all by circumstances.

Attorney. Have you done? the king must have the last.

Ralegh. Nay, Mr. Attorney, he which speaketh for his life, must speak last. False repetitions and mistakings must not mar my cause. You should speak *secundum allegata et probata.* I appeal to God and the king, in this point, whether Cobham's accusation be sufficient to condemn me.

Attorney. The king's safety and your clearing cannot agree. I protest before God, I never knew a clearer treason!

Ralegh. I never had intelligence with Cobham since I came to the Tower.

Attorney. Go to, I will lay thee upon thy back, for the confident-

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est traitor that ever came at a bar. Why should you take 8000 crowns for a peace?

Lord Cecil. Be not so impatient, good Mr. Attorney, give him leave to speak.

Attorney. If I may not be patiently heard, you will encourage traitors, and discourage us. I am the king's sworn servant, and must speak. If he be guilty, he is a traitor; if not, deliver him.

Here Mr. Attorney sat down in a chafe, and would speak no more, until the commissioners urged and intreated him. After much ado he went on, and made a long repetition of all the evidence, for the direction of the jury; and at the repeating of some things, Sir Walter Ralegh interrupted him, and said he did him wrong.

Attorney. Thou art the most vile and execrable traitor that ever lived.

Ralegh. You speak indiscretely, barbarously, and uncivilly.

Attorney. I want words sufficient to express thy viperous treasons.

Ralegh. I think you want words indeed, for you have spoken one thing half a dozen times.

Attorney. Thou art an odious fellow, thy name is hateful to all the realm of England for thy pride.

Ralegh. It will go near to prove a measuring cast between you and me, Mr. Attorney.

Attorney. Well, I will now make it appear to the world, that there never lived a viler viper upon the face of the earth than thou. *And therewithal he drew a letter out of his pocket, saying farther,* My Lords, you shall see, this is an agent that hath writ a treatise against the Spaniard, and hath ever so detested him; this is he that hath spent so much money against him in service; and yet you shall all see whether his heart be not wholly Spanish. The Lord Cobham, who of his own nature was a good and honourable gentleman, till overtaken by this wretch, now finding his conscience heavily burdened with some courses which the subtilty of this traitor had drawn him into, My Lords, he could be at no rest with himself, nor quiet in his

thoughts, until he was eased of that heavy weight. Out of which passion of his mind, and discharge of his duty to his prince, and his conscience to God, taking it upon his salvation that he wrote nothing but the truth, with his own hands he wrote this letter. Now, Sir, you shall see whether you had intelligence with Cobham, within four days before he came to the Tower. If he be wholly Spanish, that desired a pension of £.1500 a-year from Spain, that Spain by him might have intelligence, then Ralegh is a traitor. He hath taken an apple, and pinned a letter unto it, and threw it into my Lord Cobham's window; the contents whereof were this, *it is doubtful whether we shall be proceeded with or no; perhaps you shall not be tried.* This was to get a retractation. O! it was Adam's apple, whereby the devil did deceive him. Farther, he wrote thus, *do not as my Lord of Essex did; take heed of a preacher; for by his persuasion he confessed, and made himself guilty.* I doubt not but this day God shall have as great a conquest by this traitor, and the Son of God shall be as much glorified, as when it was said *Vicisti Galilee*; you know my meaning. What though Cobham retracted, yet he could not rest nor sleep till he confirmed it again. If this be not enough to prove him a traitor, the king my master shall not live three years to an end.

Here Mr. Attorney produced the Lord COBHAM's *Letter, and as he read it inserted some speeches.*

'I have thought fit to set down this to My Lords, wherein I protest on my soul to write nothing but the truth. I am now come near the period of my time, therefore I confess the whole truth before God and his angels. Ralegh, four days before I came from the Tower, caused an apple (Attorney, *Eve's apple,*) to be thrown in at my chamber-window; the effect of it was, to entreat me to right the wrong that I had done him, in saying, *that I should have come home by Jersey*; which under my hand to him I have retracted. His first letter I answered not, which was thrown in the same manner; wherein he prayed me to write him a letter, which I did. He sent me word,

'that

'that the judges met at Mr. Attorney's house, and that there was 'good hope the proceedings against us should be stayed: he sent me 'another time a little tobacco. At Aremberg's coming, Ralegh 'was to have procured a pension of £. 1500 a-year, for which 'he promised, that no action should be against Spain, the Low-'countries, or the Indies, but he would give knowledge before-hand. 'He told me, the States had audience with the king. (Attorney, *Ah! is not this a Spanish heart in an English body?*) 'He hath been the 'original cause of my ruin; for I had no dealing with Aremberg, 'but by his instigation. He hath also been the cause of my discon-'tentment; he advised me not to be overtaken with preachers, as 'Essex was; and that the king would better allow of a constant de-'nial, than to accuse any.'

Attorney. O! damnable Atheist! He hath learnt some text of Scripture to serve his own purpose, but falsely alledged. He counsels him not to be counselled by preachers as Essex was: he died the child of God, God honoured him at his death; thou wast by when he died: *Et lupus et turpes instant morientibus ursæ.* He died indeed for his offence. The king himself spake these words, *he that shall say Essex died not for treason, is punishable.*

Ralegh. You have heard a strange tale of a strange man. Now he thinks he hath matter enough to destroy me; but the king and all of you shall witness, by our deaths, which of us was the ruin of the other. I bid a poor fellow throw in the letter at his window, written to this purpose; *You know you have undone me, now write three lines to justify me.* In this I will die, that he hath done me wrong: why did not he acquaint me with his treasons, if I acquainted him with my dispositions?

L'd. Ch. Just. But what say you now of the letter, and the pension of £.1500 *per annum?*

Ralegh. I say, that Cobham is a base, dishonourable, poor soul.

Attorney. Is he base? I return it into thy throat on his behalf: but for thee, he had been a good subject.

Lord Ch. Just. I perceive you are not so clear a man, as you have protested

protested all this while; for you should have discovered these matters to the king.

Here Ralegh pulled a letter out of his pocket, which the Lord Cobham had written to him, and desired my Lord Cecil to read it, because he only knew his hand; the effect of it was as follows:

COBHAM's *Letter of Justification to* RALEGH.

'Seeing myself so near my end, for the discharge of my own conscience, and freeing myself from your blood, which else will cry vengeance against me, I protest upon my salvation I never practised with Spain by your procurement; God so comfort me in this my affliction, as you are a true subject, for anything that I know. I will say as Daniel, *Purus sum a sanguine hujus.* So God have mercy upon my soul, as I know no treason by you!

Ralegh. Now I wonder how many souls this man hath; he damns one in this letter, and another in that.

Here was much ado: Mr. Attorney alledged, that his last letter was politicly and cunningly urged from the Lord Cobham, and that the first was simply the truth; and that lest it should seem doubtful that the first letter was drawn from my Lord Cobham by promise of mercy, or hope of favour, the Lord Chief Justice willed that the jury might herein be satisfied.

Whereupon the Earl of Devonshire delivered, that the same was mere voluntary, and not extracted from the Lord Cobham upon any hopes or promise of pardon.

This was the last evidence: whereupon a marshal was sworn to keep the jury private. The jury departed, and staid not a quarter of an hour, but returned, and gave their verdict, GUILTY.

Serjeant HEALE *demanded Judgment against the Prisoner.*

Clerk of the Crown. Sir Walter Ralegh, thou hast been indicted, arraigned, and pleaded *not guilty*, for all these several treasons; and for

for trial thereof hast put thyself upon thy country, which country are these who have found thee guilty. What canst thou say for thyself why judgment and execution of death should not pass against thee?

Ralegh. My Lords, the jury have found me guilty, they must do as they are directed, I can say nothing why judgment should not proceed. You see whereof Cobham hath accused me, you remember his protestations that I was never guilty. I desire the king should know of the wrongs done unto me since I came hither.

Ld. Chief Just. You have had no wrong, Sir Walter.

Ralegh. Yes, of Mr. Attorney. I desire My Lords to remember three things to the king. I. I was accused to be a practiser with Spain—I never knew that My Lord Cobham meant to go thither.—I will ask no mercy at the king's hands if he will affirm it. II. I never knew of the practice with Arabella. III. I never knew of My Lord Cobham's practice with Aremberg, nor of the surprising treason.

Ld. Ch. Just. In my conscience I am persuaded, that Cobham hath accused you truly. You cannot deny but that you were dealt with to have a pension to be a spy for Spain, therefore you are not so true to the king as you have protested yourself to be.

Ralegh. I submit myself to the king's mercy. I know his mercy is greater than my offence. I recommend my wife, and son of tender years, unbrought-up, to his compassion.

Ld. Ch. Just. I thought I should never have seen this day, to have stood in this place to give sentence of death against you; because I thought it impossible, that one of so great parts should have fallen so grievously. God hath bestowed on you many benefits. You had been a man fit and able to have served the king in good place—you had brought yourself into a good state of living. If you had entered into a good consideration of your estate, and not suffered your own wit to have entrapped yourself, you might have lived in good comfort. It is best for man, not to seek to climb too high, lest he fall; nor yet to creep too low, lest he be trodden-on. It was the

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posy of the wisest and greatest counsellor of our time in England, *in medio spatio mediocria firma locantur.* You might have lived well with £. 3000 a-year; for so I have heard your revenues to be. I know nothing might move you to be discontented; but if you had been down, you know Fortune's wheel, when it is turned about, riseth again. I never heard that the king took-away anything from you but the captainship of the guard; which he did with very good reason, to have one of his own knowledge whom he might trust in that place. You have been taken for a wise man, and so have shewed wit enough this day. Again, for monopolies for wine, *&c.* if the king had said, *it is a matter that offends my people, should I burden them for your private good?* I think you could not well take it hardly that his subjects were eased, though by your private hindrance. Two vices have lodged chiefly in you. One is, an eager ambition; the other, corrupt covetousness. Ambition, in desiring to be advanced to equal grace and favour as you have been beforetime—that grace you had then, you got not in a day or year. For your covetousness, I am sorry to hear that a gentleman of your wealth should become a base spy for the enemy, which is the vilest of all other, wherein, on my conscience, Cobham hath said true! By it you would have increased your living £. 1500 a-year. This covetousness is like a canker, that eats the iron-place where it lives. Your case being thus, let it not grieve you, if I speak a little out of zeal and love to your good.

You have been taxed by the world with the defence of the most heathenish and blasphemous opinions; which I list not to repeat, because Christian ears cannot endure to hear them, nor the authors and maintainers of them be suffered to live in any Christian commonwealth. You know what men said of Harpool. You shall do well before you go out of the world, to give satisfaction therein; and not to die with these imputations on you. Let not any devil persuade you to think there is no eternity in heaven. For if you think thus, you shall find eternity in hell-fire. In the first accusation of My

Lord

Lord Cobham, I observed his manner of speaking, I protest before the living God I am persuaded he spoke nothing but the truth! You wrote that he should not in any case confess anything to a preacher, telling him an example of My Lord of Essex, that noble earl that is gone. Who, if he had not been carried away with others, had lived in honour to this day among us. He confessed his offences, and obtained mercy of the Lord; for I am verily persuaded in my heart he died a worthy servant of God. Your conceit of not confessing anything is very inhuman and wicked. In this world is the time of confessing, that we may be absolved at the day of judgment. You have shewed a fearful sign of denying God, in advising a man not to confess the truth. It now comes in my mind, why you may not have your accuser come face to face; for such an one is easily brought to retract, when he seeth there is no hope of his own life. It is dangerous that any traitors should have access to, or conference with, one another. When they see themselves must die, they will think it best to have their fellow live, that he may commit the like treason again, and so in some sort seek revenge. Now it resteth to pronounce the judgment, which I wish you had not been this day to have received of me. For if the fear of God in you had been answerable to your other great parts, you might have lived to have been a singular good subject. I never saw the like trial, and hope I shall never see the like again.

The JUDGMENT.

But since you have been found guilty of these horrible treasons, the judgment of this court is; that you shall be had from hence to the place whence you came, there to remain until the day of execution; and from thence you shall be drawn upon a hurdle through the open streets to the place of execution, there to be hanged and cut down alive; and your body shall be opened, your heart and bowels plucked-out, and your privy-members cut-off, and thrown into the fire before your eyes; then your head to be stricken-off from your

body, and your body shall be divided into four quarters, to be disposed-of at the king's pleasure; and God have mercy upon your soul!"

Sir Walter Ralegh besought the Earl of Devonshire and the lords to be suitors on his behalf to the king, that in regard of places of estimation he did bear in His Majesty's time, the rigour of his judgment might be qualified, and his death be honourable and not ignominous. Wherein after they had promised him to do their utmost endeavours, the court rose and the prisoner was carried-up again to the castle [30].

[30] See Hargrave's State Trials, I. 211.

CHAP. VIII.

THERE are extant several letters relative to this conspiracy, beside those in the preceding chapter. Among them I have selected the three following, as more particularly illustrative of the sentiments of the time upon the trials of the conspirators, as well as descriptive of the measures which ensued upon them. That from Cecil to Sir Thomas Parry, is, I believe, now made public for the first time; and requires to be read with the caution which every thing coming from that character (particularly in regard to the circumstances in which he stood with Ralegh) demands.

Lord CECIL, *Secretary of State, to Sir* THOMAS PARRY, *Ambassador in* FRANCE.

"SIR,

From the Court at WILTON [1], this 1st of Decr. 1603.

"IT is not unlikely but many reports will be made, according to the diversity of men's humours, of the course of the proceedings about the prisoners, of which I have heretofore summarily written unto you; and therefore, because you may know what is true and what is false, I have thought good particularly to relate thus much unto you. Cecil's letter to Parry.

The 15th of last month were publicly arraigned at Winchester Castle Mr. George Brooke, Mr. Griffin Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Bartholomew Brookesby, and Anthony Copley, Esqs.; William Watson, and Willam Clarke, priests. They were all convicted

[1] On account of the plague in London, the king retired to the Earl of Pembroke's seat at Wilton.

by their own confessions, and found guilty of high treason, for having practised to surprise His Majesty's person, with the court and as many counsellors as they could find about him. Beside, to have taken the Tower of London, or the castle of Dover, and to have conveyed the king thither under pretence of safety, and then to have persuaded him to assent to these three points. I. To a general pardon for all those that were interested in the surprise. II. To grant a toleration of popish religion. And, III. To alter divers principal officers of state, in whose places they had already designed some of their complices. As, namely, Watson the priest, to have been chancellor of England; Mr. George Brooke, to have been lord-treasurer, Sir Griffin Markham, principal secretary; the Lord Grey, earl-marshal of England, and master of the horse. They also intended, after the king should have been brought to the Tower, to have sent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and to have imprisoned them in case they should have shewed the least disgust of these proceedings.

This was the general project agreed upon among themselves; in the executing whereof it was found that there were great varieties of opinions, some imagining three hundred men to suffice for this design, some more, some less; and it was confessed that Watson fed the rest with an assurance, if any resistance should be made against them, that he was able to bring forth great numbers among the papists, his friends and acquaintance.

At their arraignment, after the principal points were debated, and most of them proved at the bar, all joining in exclamation upon the priests, and especially upon Watson, as the first contriver and mover of it, wherein how perversely he hath carried himself you may easily judge by this sequel: after that, by means of Mr. Brooke and Markham, the Lord Grey was drawn into this plot; being of a contrary religion to these priests, they made cunningly this use of that poor nobleman, and gave out, to draw the greater number of papists unto them, that the Lord Grey with the puritans having a purpose to surprise the king, it was now time for the catholics to stand

stand with the king, and to rescue him if any such attempt should be offered; not doubting but by this their good merit toward the king, to obtain a toleration of their religion. To this purpose they exhorted them to be in readiness, and to draw up toward the court, exacting an oath of them to be secret. Under this pretence the priests had drawn sundry gentlemen on their party, and, no doubt, had put the state to great hazard, if their practice had not been in time discovered.

Sir Edward Parham being arraigned among the rest, was quitted by the jury, because the evidences brought in against him seemed not so strong as against the rest that had been the first plotters, and misleaders of others. What will become of them now that they stand in His Majesty's mercy, I cannot yet advertise you; but that order was given yesterday that both the priests should be executed at Winchester.

Concerning Sir Walter Ralegh, he was brought to his trial the 17th day, at the place aforesaid. He was indicted for joining with the Lord Cobham in entertaining of another practice, to dispossess His Majesty and his royal issue of this crown, and to have set up the Lady Arbella Stuart. For better accomplishing whereof, it was said they intended to have craved the assistance of the King of Spain, and the Archduke Albert, for borrowing of 5 or 600,000 crowns, to be bestowed here upon discontented persons, and such as should otherwise seem fit to be entertained for this purpose. And the Lord Cobham took upon him the rather to induce the King of Spain to the loan of this money, (under colour of a licence which he had obtained of the king to travel beyond the seas,) to have gone personally to the Archduke, and into Spain to the king, and to have procured letters from the Lady Arbella unto them both, and to the Duke of Savoy; by which she should have promised, 1st, to establish a perfect peace and confederacy with them; next, to grant a toleration of popish religion; and, 3dly, to promise not to marry herself but with the consent and good-liking of them three. Farthermore, Sir Walter was accused

accused to have dealt with the Lord Cobham for an invasion to be made in England from Spain.

All which accusations Sir Walter Ralegh diffidently denied, and did as much as wit of man could devise, to clear himself. Yet the accusation of the Lord Cobham being of that nature, as it implied the accusing of his own self withal, (than which kind of proof the law regardeth none greater,) he was found guilty of treason upon that accusation, with other circumstances precedent and subsequent. For, although the Lord Cobham did retract his former accusation, yet that was upon intelligence in the Tower, betwixt him and Sir Walter Ralegh, who got a letter for testimony of his own innocency, under the Lord Cobham's hand, which would have swayed the jury much, if the Lord Cobham had not the night before Sir Walter's arraignment, laid open how Sir Walter practised for that letter by one Hardy, a son of the new lieutenant, accusing him freshly of being an instigator of him to deal with Aremberg for a pension of £. 1500 a-year, only to be a spy for Spain, if the peace went not forward. Which, when Sir Walter heard, notwithstanding many of his former denials that he never knew the Lord Cobham Spanishly affected in anything, he had no other evasion, but confessed at the bar that the Lord Cobham indeed moved that to him, but not he to the Lord Cobham.

You shall also understand, that at the first beginning, before ever the Lord Cobham was suspected, Sir Walter having been examined only about himself, immediately wrote a letter to the Lord Cobham that he had been examined upon him, and that he had cleared him to the lords; wishing him to be wary; if he were examined, to remember that one witness could not overthrow him. Which being done before ever Cobham was called in question, and being added to the accusation of the Lord Cobham, was an argument that Ralegh's denials of other things were also false. Beside, it may be remembered, upon Ralegh's first commitment to the Tower, how suspiciously he carried himself in offering to stab himself with a knife, as heretofore you have heard.

The

The Friday after, the Lord Cobham was arraigned before thirty-[illegible] of the peers, the lord-chancellor sitting as high-steward. He [illegible] then that Ralegh was privy to his purpose to go into Spain. [illegible] matter of money to be gotten for discontented persons, [illegible] that it was a conceit of his own thoughts, never com-[illegible] to any, but died in him almost as soon as it was harboured [illegible] and, though he did reveal it to the lords of the council, when they examined him about other matters. Concerning the setting up of the Lady Arbella, he fastened it upon his brother, George Brooke. And for Sir Walter Ralegh, though he confessed that in many things he had done him wrong, yet he maintained still the pension sought for by him; and withal that Sir Walter moved to solicit Aremberg to persuade the King of Spain to send an army into Milford-haven. For being privy to the undutiful speeches of the king, wherewith he was also charged, as namely, *that it would never be well in England till the king and his cubs*, meaning his royal issue, *were taken away*, he took damnation upon him if ever he thought such a matter.

The next day after, the Lord Grey was arraigned and convicted, for assenting and being an actor in the priests' treason. He was drawn in at first by Mr. Brooke and Markham, not knowing that the priests and so many papists were engaged in the action; whereof afterward when he had knowledge, he sought to sever himself from that party, by dissuading the execution of the project till some fitter time. Wherein his own reasons were, that he would be loth to join with a catholic party until he had a good number of his; in case they should, after they had made use of him, offer him any injury. And so stands he condemned.

There remaineth now that I do resolve you of some doubts, which you might conceive concerning Lady Arbella, Count Aremberg, and other persons named in the Lord Cobham's and Sir Walter Ralegh's indictment, how far they are to be touched with it or not. And therefore you shall understand, that as that practice was discovered in the very infancy of it, before it was either put in action, or imparted

imparted to any, so far the Lady Arbella, the Archduke, and King of Spain, they were merely ignorant of any such thing, which these men had but conceived in their minds, and discoursed of among themselves. But for the Count of Aremberg, with whom the Lord Cobham had had private meetings, and intercourse of letters, it was always pretended to him, howsoever it might be intended by the Lord Cobham, to be for the advancement of the peace; and that the money which the count was contented to promise, should be bestowed only for gaining of friends to stand for the treaty, without any farther reference.

Thus have you now the particulars at large of these proceedings, of which you may make such use for His Majesty's service as you shall think convenient in your own discretion, delivering the particulars as there shall be cause, but not as a copy of my letter.

Your very loving and assured friend,

ROBERT CECYLL[2]."

Sir DUDLEY CARLETON[3] *to Mr.* JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, *dated* WINCHESTER, *Nov.* 27, 1603.

" SIR,

Sir D. Carleton's two letters.

" I was taking care how to send unto you, and little looked for so good a means as your man, who came to me this

[2] From the copy-book of Sir Thomas Parry's Letters in Mr. Pepyps' library in Magdalen College, Cambridge. A copy in Dr. Birch's hand-writing may be seen among his MS. Collections in the British Museum, No. 4176.

[3] Sir D. Carleton, afterward Viscount Dorchester, was, at the time he wrote these letters, secretary to the Earl of Northumberland, and an ear and eye-witness of most that passed in these arraignments and executions. The letters were communicated to Philip Lord Wharton, by Mr. Dudley Carleton, in 1651, and extracted from the Wharton-papers by Lord Hardwicke.——See his State-papers, I. 377.

morning;

he would in all haste begone, I have stayed time to discourse unto you these tragical pro-

t the first or second arraignment, wherein okesby, Copley, and the two priests were con- e surprise of the king's person, the taking of of counsellors, and proclaiming liberty of religion. They were all condemned upon their own confessions, which were set down under their own hands, as declarations; and compiled with such labour and care, to make the matter they undertook seem very feasible, as if they had feared they should not say enough to hang themselves. Pirra was acquitted, being only drawn in by the priests as an assistant, without knowing the purpose; yet had he gone the same way as the rest (as it is thought,) save for a word the Lord Cecil cast in the way as his cause was in handling, that the king's glory consisted as much in freeing the innocent, as condemning the guilty.

The commissioners for this trial were, the Lord-chamberlain, Lord of Devon, Lord Henry Howard, Lord Cecil, Lord Wotton, the Vice-chamberlain the two Chief-justices, Justice Gawdy, and Warburton. Of the king's council, none were employed in that, or the arraignment, but the attorney, Heale and Philips; and in effect none but the attorney. Sir Walter Ralegh served for a whole act, and played all the parts himself. His cause was disjoined from the priests, as being a practice only between himself and the Lord Cobham, to have brought in the Spaniard, to have raised rebellion in the realm, by fastening money upon discontents, to have set up the Lady Arabella, and to have tied her to certain conditions; as to have a perpetual peace with Spain; not to have bestowed herself in marriage but at the direction of the Spaniard; and to have granted liberty of religion. The evidence against him, was only Cobham's confession, which was judged sufficient to condemn him; and a letter was produced, written by Cobham the day before, by which he accused Ralegh as the first practiser of the treason betwixt them;

them; which served to turn against him; though h[illegible] tervail this, a letter written by Cobham, and de[illegible] the Tower, by which he was clearly acquitte[illegible] given, his request was, to have his answers relate[illegible] pardon be[illegible]ed; of which, if there were no hope, [illegible] might die first. He answered with that temper, [illegible] rage and judgment, that save that it went with the [illegible] it was the happiest day that ever he spent. And so well he shifted all advantages that were taken against him, that were not *fama malum gravius quam res*, and an ill name half-hanged, in the opinion of all men, he had been acquitted.

The two first that brought the news to the king, were Roger Ashton, and a Scotchman; whereof one affirmed, that never any man spoke so well in times past, nor would do in the world to come; and the other said, that whereas when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred, that he would have gone a hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to have saved his life. In one word, never was man so hated, and so popular in so short a time. It was thought the lords should have been arraigned on Tuesday last, but they were put off till Friday and Saturday; and had their trials apart, before the lord-chancellor, (as lord-steward for both those days,) eleven earls, nineteen barons. The Duke[*], the Earl of Mar, and many Scottish lords, stood as spectators; and of our ladies, the greatest part, as the Lady Nottingham, the Lady Suffolk, and the Lady Arabella, who heard herself much spoken-of these days. But, the arraignment before, she was more particularly remembered, as by Sir Walter Ralegh, for a woman, with whom he had no acquaintance, and one, whom, of all that he ever saw, he never liked; and by serjeant Hale, as one that had no more right to the crown than himself; and for any claim that he had to it, he utterly disavowed it. Cobham led the way on Friday, and made such a fasting-day's piece of work of it, that he

[*] Of Lenox, then the only one of that degree.

discredited

which he was called; never was seen so poor
He heard his indictment with much fear and
sometimes interrupt it, by forswearing what he
inserted; so as, by his fashion, it was known
would confess or deny. In his first answer, he
mind since he came to the bar; for whereas
to have made his confession, without denying anything, now seeing many things inserted in this indictment with which he could not be charged, being not able in one word to make distinction of many parts, he must plead to all *not guilty*. For anything that belonged to the Lady Arabella, he denied the whole accusation; only said, she had sought his friendship, and his brother Brooke had sought her's. For the other purposes, he said, he had hammered in his brains some such imaginations; but never had purpose to bring them to effect. Upon Ralegh, he exclaimed as one who had stirred him up to discontent, and thereby overthrown his fortunes. Against him he said, that he had once propounded to him a means for the Spaniard to invade England, which was, to bring down an army to the Groyne, under pretence to send them into the Low-countries, and land them at Milford Haven; that he had made himself a pensioner to Spain for 1500 crowns by the year, to give intelligence; and, for an earnest of his diligence, had already related to the Count D'Aremberg, the particularities of what passed in the States' audiences at Greenwich. His brother's confession was read against him, wherein he accused him of a contract made with Aremberg for 500,000 crowns, to bestow among discontents, whereof Ralegh was to have had 10,000, Grey as much, and Brooke 1000; the rest, as they should find fit men to bestow it on. He excepted against his brother, as an incompetent accuser, baptizing him with the name of a viper; and laid to his charge (though far from the purpose,) the getting of his wife's sister with child; in which it is thought he did young Coppinger some wrong.

A letter was produced which he wrote to Aremberg for so much money; and Aremberg's answer, consenting for the furnishing of that

sum. He then flew to his former retreat, that in this likewise he [illegible] no ill-meaning, and excused Aremberg as one that meant only [illegible] to farther the peace. When particularities were further urged, [illegible] in his intended travel, he meant to have gone into the Low [illegible] tries to the Archduke; from thence into Savoy; so into Spain; then have returned by Jersey; and there to have met Ralegh, and to have brought some money from the well-spring where it was to be had; he confessed imaginations, but no purposes; and still laid the fault upon his own weaknesses, in that he suffered himself to be misled by Ralegh. Being asked of his two letters to different purposes, the one excusing, the other condemning Ralegh; he said the last was true, but the other was drawn from him by device in the Tower, by young Harvey the lieutenant's son, whom Ralegh had corrupted, and carried intelligence betwixt them (for which he is there committed, and is likely to be arraigned at the King's-bench.) Having thus accused all his friends, and so little excused himself, the peers were not long in deliberation what to judge; and after sentence of condemnation given, he begged a great while for life and favour, alledging his confession as a meritorious act.

Grey, quite in another key, began with great assurances and alacrity; spake a long and eloquent speech, first to the lords, and then to the judges, and lastly to the king's council; and told them well of their charges, and spake effectually for himself. He held them the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night, in subtle traverses and scapes; but the evidence was too conspicuous, both by Brooke's and Markham's confessions, that he was acquainted with the surprise; yet the lords were long ere they could all agree, and loth to come out with so hard a censure against him. For though he had some heavy enemies, as his old antagonist, who was mute before his face, but spake within very unnobly against him; yet most of them strove with themselves, and would fain (as it seemed) have dispensed with their consciences to have shewed him favour. At the pronouncing of the opinion of the lords, and the demand whether he had anything to say why sentence of death

given against him, these only were his words, ;" there he paused long: "and yet a word mind, *Non eadem omnibus decora:* the house ent many lives in their prince's service, and *God send the king a long and prosperous reign, honour.*"

he only desired to have one Travers[5], a divine, sent for to come to him, if he might live two days. If he were to die before that, then he might have one Field, whom he thought to be near. There was great compassion had of this gallant young lord; for so clear and fiery a spirit had not been seen by any that had been present at like trials. Yet the lord steward condemned his manner much, terming it Lucifer's pride, and preached much humiliation; and the judges liked him as little, because he disputed with them against their laws. We cannot yet judge what will become of him or the rest; for all are not like to go one way. Cobham is of the surest side, for he is thought least dangerous, and the Lord Cecil undertakes to be his friend. They say the priests shall lead the dance tomorrow; and Brooke next after; for he proves to be the knot that tied together the three conspiracies; the rest hang indifferent betwixt mercy and justice, wherein the king hath now subject to practice himself. The lords are most of them returned to the court. The lord-chancellor and treasurer remain here till Tuesday, to shut up the term. My lord goeth from hence to Petworth; but I pick quarrel to stay behind, to see an end of these matters. The court is like to Christmas at Windsor; and many plays and shows are bespoken, to give entertainment to our ambassadors.

* * * * * * * * * *

[5] A puritan, the antagonist of Hooker.

The Same to the Same.

" SIR.

" I KNOW not when or how to send to you, yet here happening an accident worth your knowledge, I cannot but put it in record while the memory of it is fresh; and for the rest, stand to the venture. But because I have taken a time of good leisure, and it is likely this letter will take his leisure ere it come at you, I may as well leap-in where I left, when I wrote to you by your man, and proceed in an order by narration; since this was a part of the same play, and that other acts came betwixt, to make up a tragical comedy.

The two priests that led the way to the execution were very bloodily handled; for they were both cut down alive; and Clarke, to whom more favour was intended, had the worse luck; for he both strove to help himself, and spake after he was cut down. They died boldly, both; and Watson (as he would have it seem) willing; wishing he had more lives to spend, and one to lose, for every man he had by his treachery drawn into this treason. Clarke stood somewhat upon his justification, and thought he had hard measure; but imputed it to his function, and therefore thought his death meritorious, as a kind of martyrdom. Their quarters were set on Winchester-gates, and their heads on the first tower of the castle. Brooke was beheaded in the castle-yard, on Monday last; and to double his grief, had St. Crofts in his sight from the scaffold, which drove him first to discontent [6].

There was no greater assembly than I have seen at ordinary executions; nor no man of quality more than the Lord of Arundel and young Somerset; only the bishop of Chichester, who was sent from the court two days before, to prepare him to his end, could not

[6] Probably from missing the mastership.

get

, by Brooke's earnest entreaty was fain to ac-
ffold, and serve for his ghostly father. He
seeming, religiously); spake not much; but
nd assured. He did somewhat extenuate his
reasons, and the course of his life; naming
capital crimes; and his former faults, sins;
but not so heinous as they were traduced; which he referred to the
God of truth and time to discover; and so left it, as if somewhat
lay yet hid, which would one day appear for his justification. The
bishop went from him to the Lord Cobham; and, at the same time,
the bishop of Winchester was with Ralegh; both by express or-
der from the king; as well to prepare them for their ends, as likewise
to bring them to liberal confessions, and by that means reconcile the
contradictions of the one's open accusation, and the other's perempt-
tory denial. The bishop of Chichester had soon done what he came
for, finding in Cobham a willingness to die, and readiness to die
well; with purpose at his death to affirm as much as he had said
against Ralegh. But the other bishop had more to do with his
charge; for though, for his conscience, he found him well settled,
and resolved to die a Christian, and a good protestant, for the point
of confession, he found him so strait-laced, that he would yield to
no part of Cobham's accusation; only the pension, he said, was
once mentioned, but never proceeded in. Grey, in the meantime,
with his minister Field, having had the like summons for death, spent
his time in great devotions; but with that careless regard of that, with
which he was threatened, that he was observed neither to eat or sleep
the worse, or be anyways distracted from his accustomed fashions.
Markham was told he should likewise die; but by secret message
from some friends at court, had still such hope given him, that he
would not believe the worst news till the last day; and though he
could be content to talk with the preacher which was assigned him,
it was rather to pass time, than for any good purpose; for he was ca-
tholicly disposed; to think of death no way disposed. While these
men were so occupied at Winchester, there was no small doings about
them

them at court, for life or death: some pushing at the w[illegible] some another. The lords of the council joined in [illegible] vice to the king, now in the beginning of his reign, [illegible] examples of mercy as severity, and to gain the title [illegible] well as Just[illegible]s. But some others, led by their private [illegible] drew as hard the other way; and Patrick Galloway, in [illegible] mon on Tuesday, preached so hotly against remissness and moderation of justice, in the head of justice, as if it were one of the seven deadly sins. The king held himself upright betwixt two waters; and first, let the lords know, that since the law had passed upon the prisoners, and that they themselves had been their judges, it became not them to be petitioners for that, but rather to press for execution of their own ordinances; and to others, gave as good reasons, let them know that he would go no whit the faster for their driving; but would be led as his own judgment and affections would move him; but seemed rather to lean to this side than the other, by the care he took to have the law take his course, and the execution hasted.

Warrants were signed, and sent to Sir Benjamin Tichborne, on Wednesday last, at night, for Markham, Grey, and Cobham, who in this order were to take their turns, as yesterday, being Friday, about ten of the clock. A fouler day could hardly have been picked out, or fitter for such a tragedy. Markham being brought to the scaffold, was much dismayed, and complained much of his hard hap, to be deluded with hopes, and brought to that place unprepared. One might see in his face the very picture of sorrow; but he seemed not to want resolution; for a napkin being offered by a friend that stood by, to cover his face, he threw it away, saying, he could look upon death without blushing. He took leave of some friends that stood near, and betook himself to his devotions, after his manner; and those ended, prepared himself to the block. The sheriff, in the meantime, was secretly withdrawn, by one John Gib, a Scotch groom of the bed-chamber; whereupon the execution was stayed, and Markham left upon the scaffold to entertain his own thoughts,

which,

ere as melancholy as his countenance, sad and heavy. The sheriff, at his return, told him, that since he was so ill prepared, he should yet have two hours respite, so led him from the scaffold without giving him any more comfort, and locked him into Prince Arthur's hall, to walk with Prince Arthur. The Lord [illegible] was led to the scaffold by a troop of the [illegible] and was supported on both sides by two of his be[illegible]ds; and coming in this equipage, had such gaiety and cheer in his countenance, that he seemed a dapper young bridegroom. At his first coming on the scaffold, he fell on his knees, and his preacher made a long prayer to the present purpose, which he seconded himself with one of his own making, which, for the phrase, was somewhat affected, and suited to his other speeches; but, for the fashion, expressed the fervency and zeal of a religious spirit. In his confession, he said, though God knew this fault of his was far from the greatest, yet he knew, and could but acknowledge his heart to be faulty; for which he asked pardon of the king; and thereupon entered into a long prayer for the king's good estate, which held us in the rain more than half an hour; but being come to a full point, the sheriff stayed him, and said, he had received orders from the king, to change the order of the execution, and that the Lord Cobham was to go before him; whereupon he was likewise led to Prince Arthur's hall, and his going away seemed more strange unto him, than his coming thither; for he had no more hope given him, than of an hour's respite; neither could any man yet dive into the mystery of this strange proceeding.

The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and by his former actions promised nothing but *matiere pour rire*, did much cozen the world; for he came to the scaffold with good assurance, and contempt of death. He said some short prayers after his minister, and so out-prayed the company that helped to pray with him, that a stander-by said, *he had a good mouth in a cry, but was nothing single*. Some few words he used, to express his sorrow for his of-

fence to the king, and craved pardon of him and the world. For Sir Walter Ralegh, he took it, upon the hope of his soul's resurrection, that what he had said of him was true, and with those words which have taken a short farewell of the world, with that constancy and boldness that we might see by him, it is an easier matter to die well than live well.

He was stayed by the sheriff, and told, that there resteth yet somewhat else to be done, for that he was to be confronted with some other of the prisoners, but named none. So as Grey and Markham being brought back to the scaffold, as they then were, but nothing acquainted with what had passed, no more than the lookers-on with what should follow, looked strange one upon the other, like men beheaded, and met again in the other world. Now all the actors being together on the stage (as use is at the end of a play), the sheriff made a short speech unto them, by way of the interrogatory of the heinousness of their offences, the justness of their trials, their lawful condemnation, and due execution there to be performed, to all which they assented; then, saith the sheriff, see the mercy of your prince, who, of himself, hath sent hither a countermand, and given you your lives. There was then no need to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries, that it went from the castle into the town, and there began afresh, as if there had been some suchlike accident. And this experience was made of the difference of examples of justice and mercy; that in this last, no man could cry loud enough, *God save the king*; and at the holding up of Brooke's head, when the executioner began the same cry, he was not seconded by the voice of any one man but the sheriff. You must think, if the spectators were so glad, the actors were not sorry, for even those that went best resolved to death, were glad of life. Cobham vowed openly, if ever he proved traitor again, never so much as to beg his life; and Grey, that since he had his life, without begging, he would deserve it. Markham returned with a merrier countenance than he came to the scaffold. Ralegh, you must think (who had a window

window opened that way), had hammers working in his head, to beat out the meaning of this stratagem. His turn was to come on Monday next; but the king has pardoned him with the rest, and confined him with the two lords to the Tower of London, there to remain during pleasure. Markham, Brookesby, and Copley, are to be banished the realm. This resolution was taken by the king without man's help, and no man can rob him of the praise of yesterday's action; for the lords knew no other, but that execution was to go forward, till the very hour it should be performed; and then calling them before him, he told them how much he had been troubled to resolve in this business; for to execute Grey, who was a noble young spirited fellow, and save Cobham, who was as base and unworthy, were a manner of injustice. To save Grey, who was of a proud, insolent nature, and execute Cobham, who had shewed great tokens of humility and repentance, were as great a solecism; and so went-on with Plutarch's comparisons in the rest, till travelling in contrarities, but holding the conclusion in so indifferent balance, that the lords knew not what to look for till the end came out, *and therefore I have saved them all.* The miracle was as great there as with us at Winchester, and it took like effect; for the applause that began about the king, went from thence into the presence, and so round about the court.

I send you a copy of the king's letter, which was privately written the Wednesday-night, and the messenger dispatched the Thursday about noon. But one thing had like to have marred the play; for the letter was closed and delivered him, unsigned; which the king remembered himself, and called for him back again. And at Winchester there was another cross adventure, for John Gib could not get so near the scaffold that he could speak to the sheriff, but was thrust-out among the boys and was forced to call-out to Sir James Hayes, or else Markham might have lost his neck. There were other bye passages, if I could readily call them to mind; but here is enough already

already for *un petit mot de lettre*; and therefore I bid you heartily farewell. From Salisbury, December 11, 1603.

Yours, *&c.*

DUDLEY CARLETON.

Brooke's recantation.

A circumstance worthy of remark, as it mars much of the evidence on the trial, is the recantation made by Brooke at his death, which Cecil thus describes to Mr. Winwood, in a letter dated December 12th.—"After the two priests were executed, which was upon the 29th of November, the next that followed was Mr. George Brooke, who was beheaded the fifth of this present, on a scaffold newly erected in the Castle of Winchester; where he made a patient and constant end, after such godly prayers as the divines then present read with him. Of him I have no more to say but that I hope he is with God, for he died penitently, and in this one thing above others, shewed a remorse; in that he recalled to the bishop upon receiving of the sacrament, that accusation which he had made of his brother, concerning those odious words, supposed to be uttered by the Lord Cobham; namely, (meaning thereby our gracious sovereign and his royal issue) *that it would never be well until the fox and cubs were taken away.* But for the rest whereof he had accused the Lord Cobham and the Lord Grey, he constantly persisted therein till the hour of his death[7]."

The reader has now before him a collection of facts and cotemporary observations, which may enable him so far as existing records afford, to form an opinion for himself, in a matter on which, from the various sentiments it has produced as viewed by different beholders, it is difficult for another to decide for him; and to judge how far

[7] See Winwood's Memorials, II. 11.

Sir

Sir Walter is to be implicated in the treason supposed. Those who have perused Cecil's correspondence with King James through Lord Henry Howard, previously to the king's accession to this throne, will have a clearer insight into the business, from being better enabled to enter into the malevolence which those noblemen *in reality* entertained against Ralegh; while every reader will discern, that much of the mystery of the story has arisen from the dread so apparent, of exposing the simple Cobham to the shrewdness of Sir Walter's questions. In a collection of letters, published by Sir Toby Matthews, in 1660[8], is one from a member of parliament, to Mr. John Donne, wherein he confirms what is implied in the trial, that it was *by device* Cobham was brought to make his first accusation against Ralegh; uttering it in passion, occasioned by his vexation at what (as he had been made to believe) Sir Walter had accused him of at his own examination. Upon his *vivâ voce* evidence not being admitted at the trial, King James himself is said to have remarked, that could Cobham have spoken anything against Ralegh, they would have brought him from Constantinople to have accused him[9]; and Sir John Hawles, sollicitor-general, in the reign of King William, justly observes, *how very ill did it become the Chief-justice Popham, a person of learning and parts, in the attainting Sir Walter Ralegh, (of which trial all since that time have complained) when he gave his opinion that the affidavit of the Lord Cobham, taken in the absence of Sir Walter, might be given in evidence against him, without producing the Lord Cobham face to face to Sir Walter (which was desired by him) although the Lord Cobham was then forthcoming. When he summed-up the evidence, he said,* "it now comes in my mind why you may not have your accuser come face to face, for such an one is easily brought to retract when he seeth there is no hope of his own life—it is dangerous that any traitors should have access to, or conference with, one another—when they see themselves must die, they will think it best to have their fellow live, that he may commit the like treason again, and so in some sort seek revenge." *Which, beside that it is*

Cobham practised on.

Sir J. Hawles's observation.

[8] Octavo, p. 281.

[9] Observations on Saunderson's Hist. 4to, p. 8.

against

against the common-law and reason, it is against the express statute of Edward VI. which takes care that in treason, the witness shall be brought face to face of the person accused Did it become a just man, to give his opinion, and bethink himself of a reason afterward[10] ?

In regard to Cobham's letter to the lords, which seems to have had great weight with the jury, Sir Thomas Overbury in his account of Sir Walter's arraignment[11], informs us, that it was written in consequence of a letter from his wife, implying that there was no way of saving his own life but by accusing Ralegh. While Sir Anthony Welden in his Court of King James[12], asserts, that Sir William Wade got Cobham *by a trick* to write his name upon a piece of blank paper, and that the accusation was afterward forged above the signature. Whatever the truth may be, we are told that the verdict in the end *so far touched some of the jury in conscience*, that they demanded pardon of Sir Walter on their knees[13]; and (however fabulous it may appear after a perusal of the trial) Coke, who had retired into a garden for fresh air, on being informed that the jury had brought in Ralegh guilty of treason, is said to have exclaimed to the messenger, *thou art surely mistaken, I myself only accused him of misprision of treason*[14].

Jury repent.

At any rate we must allow, that no circumstance appeared in the course of his trial, which could justify Ralegh's condemnation. And that the written evidence of a single witness (a man without honour or understanding, contradictory in his testimony, not confronted with Sir Walter, and unsupported by any concurring circumstance) should be the ground of it, should cost him an imprisonment of above twelve years, with the loss of most of his property, and in the end be the plea for taking away his life, must be pronounced a proceeding scandalous in the extreme. The abuse thrown out by the celebrated Coke, has been justly deemed a great reflection on his own memory,

[10] See Hargrave's State Trials, Vol. IV. fol. 1777, p. 169.

[11] Quarto, 1648, p. 24.

[12] Second edit. 12mo, 1651, p. 36.

[13] Osborn's Misc. Works, 11th edit. 12mo, II. 109.

[14] This relation, the writer of the Observations on Saunderson's History, asserts, *upon the word of a Christian*, to have received from Sir Edward Coke's own mouth. See p. 9.

and on the manners of the age. The latter, however, appears not to have been so deficient in civility, as to suffer such conduct to pass uncensured even upon its public theatre. Shakspeare, in his Twelfth-night, is supposed to allude to Coke on this very occasion, when he puts the following speech in the mouth of Sir Toby Belch:

Coke satirised.

Go, write in a martial hand, be crust and brief; it is no matter how witty, so it be eloquent and full of invention. Taunt him with the licence of ink, if thou *thou'st* him some thrice it shall not be amiss; *and as many lies as will lie in thy sheet of paper, although the sheet were big enough for the bed of Ware in England, set 'em down. Go about it—let there be gall enough in thy ink, though thou write with a goose pen, no matter—about it* [15].

Return to prison.

Indignant as he must have been at the proceedings, as well as wearied with the persecution, of the court, Sir Walter is said to have accompanied the sheriff to the prison *with admirable erection, yet in such sort as a condemned man should do* [16]. Shortly afterward, he addressed the following letter to the king:

Sir WALTER RALEGH *to King* JAMES I.

Letter to the king.

"THE life which I had, Most Mighty Prince, the law hath taken from me, and I am now but the same earth and dust out of which I was first framed. If my offences had any proportion with Your Majesty's mercy, I should not despair; or if my crime had any quantity with Your Majesty's unmeasurable goodness, I might yet have hope—but it is Your Great Majesty that must judge of both, and not I. Blood, name, gentry, or estate have I now none, no not so much as a being; no, not so much as *vita plantæ*. I have only a penitent soul in a body of iron, which moveth toward the loadstone of death, and cannot be withheld from touching it, except Your Majesty's mercy turn the point toward me which expelleth. Lost I am for hearing a

[15] Act III. Scene 4.—"*Thou* viper, for I *thou* thee *thou* traitor," are probably the three *thou's* alluded to.—See the Trial.

[16] See Overbury's Arraignment of Ralegh, p. 25.

vain

vain man, for *hearing only*, and never believing or approving. And so little account I made of that speech of his which was my condemnation (as the Living God doth truly witness!) that I never remembered any such thing, till it was at my trial objected against me. So did he repay my care, who cared to make him good; which (now too late) see no care of man can effect!

But God, for mine offences toward him hath laid this heavy burthen upon me; miserable and unfortunate wretch that I am! But not for loving you, My Sovereign, hath God laid this sorrow on me. For He knoweth, with whom I may not dissemble, that I honoured Your Majesty by fame, and loved and admired you by knowledge. So, whether I live or die, Your Majesty's true and loving servant, and loyal subject, I will live and die.

If I now write what doth not become me, Most Merciful Prince, vouchsafe to ascribe it to the counsel of a dead heart, and to a mind which sorrow hath broken and confounded. But the more my misery is, the more is Your Majesty's mercy if you please to behold it; and the less I can deserve, the more liberal Your Majesty's gift shall be. God only shall imitate Your Majesty herein, both in giving freely, and by giving to such a one as from whom there can be no retribution, but only a deign to repay a lent life with the same great love, which the same great goodness shall please to bestow it.

This being the first letter that ever Your Majesty received from a dead man, I humbly submit myself to the will of my Supreme Lord, and shall willingly and patiently suffer whatsoever it shall please Your Majesty to impose upon me.

WALTER RALEGH [17]."

[17] See the Harleian and other Collections, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 382.

Sir

Sir Walter was confined at Winchester for nearly a month, and probably lived during the greater part of this period in the daily expectation of death. In the letter to Mr. Winwood, already quoted, Cecil writes that the king *pretended to forbear Sir Walter Ralegh for the present, until the Lord Cobham's death had given some light how far he would make good his accusation*[18]. His execution was afterward fixed to take place on December the 12th; three days previously to which, the comedy on the scaffold already related had been acted. And Ralegh was reprieved with the rest, and ordered to be committed prisoner, as well as Grey and Cobham, to the Tower of London during pleasure[19]. It was in the interval of suspence that Sir Walter addressed the following interesting letter to his wife: Expects death.

Sir WALTER *to Lady* RALEGH.

" You shall now receive, my dear wife, my last words in these my last lines. My love I send you, that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counsel, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my will, present you with sorrows, dear Bess;—let them go into the grave with me, and be buried in the dust. And seeing it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thyself. Letter to wife.

First, I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words can express, for your many travails and care taken for me; which though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the less. But pay it I never shall in this world.

Secondly, I beseech you for the love you bear me living, do not hide yourself many days after my death. But, by your travails, seek to help your miserable fortunes, and the right of your poor child. Thy mournings cannot avail me, I am but dust.

[18] Winwood's Memorials, II. 11.

[19] Cecil in his letter to Winwood, fixes the sham-execution to Friday, Dec. 9th,—the rest follows from Carleton's second letter.

Thirdly, you shall understand that my land was conveyed *bona fide* to my child. The writings were drawn at Midsummer was twelve-months. My honest cousin, Brett, can testify so much, and Dalberrie, too, can remember somewhat therein. And I trust my blood will quench their malice that have thus cruelly murdered me, and that they will not seek also to kill thee and thine with extreme poverty. To what friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of trial, and I plainly perceive that my death was determined from the first day. Most sorry I am, God knows, that, being thus surprised with death, I can leave you in no better estate. God is my witness I meant you all my office of wines, or all that I could have purchased by selling it; half my stuff and all my jewels, but some one for the boy. But God hath prevented all my resolutions, even that Great God that ruleth all in all. But if you can live free from want, care for no more; the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself on him; and therein shall you find true and lasting riches, and endless comfort. For the rest, when you have travailed, and wearied your thoughts over all sorts of worldly cogitation, you shall but sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to love and fear God, while he is yet young, that the fear of God may grow up with him. And then God will be a husband to you, and a father to him; a husband and a father which cannot be taken from you.

Bayly oweth me £.200, and Adrian Gilbert £.600. In Jersey, also, I have much money owing me. Beside, the arrearages of the wines will pay my debts; and, howsoever you do, for my soul's sake, pay all poor men.

When I am gone, no doubt you shall be sought to by many, for the world thinks that I was very rich. But take heed of the pretences of men, and their affections. For they last not, but in honest and worthy men; and no greater misery can befal you in this life, than to become a prey, and afterward to be despised. I speak not this, God knows, to dissuade you from marriage; for it will be best for you, both in respect of the world and of God. As for me, I am

no

no more yours, nor you mine. Death has cut us asunder; and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me.

Remember your poor child, for his father's sake, who chose you and loved you in his happiest time. Get those letters, if it be possible, which I writ to the lords, wherein I sued for my life. God is my witness, it was for you and yours that I desired life. But it is true that I disdain myself for begging it; for, know it, dear wife, that your son is the son of a true man, and one who, in his own respect, despiseth death, and all his mishapen and ugly forms.

I cannot write much. God, he knoweth, how hardly I steal this time while others sleep. And it is also high time that I should separate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which, living, was denied thee. And either lay it at Sherborne, if the land continue, or in Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can say no more, time and death call me away.

The everlasting, powerful, infinite, and omnipotent God, who is goodness itself, the true life and true light, keep thee and thine, have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my persecutors and accusers, and send us to meet in his glorious kingdom. My dear wife, farewell! Bless my poor boy, pray for me, and let my good God hold you both in his arms!

Written with the dying hand of, sometime thy husband, but now, alas! overthrown,

Your's that was, but now not my own,

WALTER RALEGH[26].

[26] See the Harleian and other Collections, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 383.

Prisoner in the Tower.

Sir Walter was removed to the Tower on the 15th of December [21], with little apprehension, probably, whatever his feelings may have been, that he should remain immured within those walls for above twelve years. In 1604 a grant was made of his goods and chattels, forfeited by his attainder, to John Shelbery and Robert Smyth (trustees appointed by himself), for the benefit of his family and creditors [22]. Up o the earnest solicitation likewise of Lady Ralegh, she obtained permission to accompany Sir Walter in prison [23]; and in the latter part of this or the beginning of the following year, she was delivered of her second son, Carew [24], after an infecundity (as far as record goes) of ten years [25].

1604.

Effects granted to trustees.

Wife admitted.

Second son born.

The life of a prisoner, however eminent, like that of a secluded scholar or a monk, affords but little which can interest posterity. The anecdotes transmitted to us of Sir Walter Ralegh's imprisonment, are peculiarly scanty; and we have now a long period of time to run over, with very little in proportion to it to detain our attention.

Among the Hatfield papers are two letters from Sir William Wade, lieutenant of the Tower, to Cecil, at that time newly created Earl of Salisbury, dated August 17th, and 19th, 1605, from which the following extracts relative to Ralegh's confinement are made:

1605.

Tower anecdotes.

"My Lord Treasurer and My Lord of Devonshire met at the Tower on Monday at three of the clock in the afternoon, and gave me my oath. Though Sir Walter Ralegh used some speech of his dislike of me the day before, yet sithence he doth acknowledge his error, and seemeth to be very well satisfied."

"Sir Walter Ralegh hath like access (*with Cobham*) of divers to him. The door of his chamber being always open all the day to the garden, which, indeed, is the only garden the lieutenant hath. And in

[21] Stow's Annals.

[22] See Appendix, No. XI.

[23] Oldys asserts this, without naming any authority. It is, however, confirmed by Sir W. Wade's Letter of Aug. 19, 1605, hereafter quoted in this chapter.

[24] See Appendix, No. X.

[25] Walter having been born in 1594. See the last chapter of this work.

the

the garden he hath converted a little hen-house to a still-house, where he doth spend his time all the day in distillations.

Persons permitted to have Access to Sir WALTER RALEGH.

Persons admitted to him.

His lady and son, and her waiting-maid.

John Talbot,
Peter Dean,
John Talbot, a boy, } These to remain in the Tower with him.

Gilbert Hawthorne, a preacher,
Dr. Turner,
Dr. John, a surgeon,
John Shelbery,
Thomas Harriot,
His Steward of Sherborne, } To repair to him at convenient time[26]."

Sir Edward Hoby, in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmonds, at that time ambassador at the court of Brussels, dated November 19th, 1605, in a *glowing* description which he gives his friend of the then recent gunpowder plot, writes *Sir Walter Ralegh is much suspected to be privy to this action, for Whitelocke had had private conference late with him*[27]. But as I have nowhere else, either in the printed or manuscript collections, which I have had occasion to consult for the present work, found the slightest hint at the existence of a suspicion of this nature, and as it would probably have been made-the-most-of against Sir Walter had there been any real ground for it, we may reasonably conclude that the surmise was without foundation.

Falsely named in gunpowder plot.

The Lady Ralegh was here, kneeled to the king, but His Majesty passed by her with silence, is a postscript added by Mr. Rowland Whyte to his letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated Hampton-court, Sept. 24, 1606, and preserved among the Talbot Papers[28]. This, while it discovers the unceasing solicitude of her ladyship in

Lady Ralegh petitions.

1606.

[26] See Dr. Birch's Collections in Brit. Mus. 4160, cxxi.

[27] Ibid. 4176.

[28] Talbot Papers, Vol. L. f. 65; and Lodge's Illustrations of Brit. Hist. III. 313.

the

the cause of her husband, probably alludes less to any hopeless attempt at procuring his enlargement, than to an endeavour at relieving the difficulties under which the knight appears to have laboured in the settlement of his affairs. For those on whom he had demands took advantage, as might be expected, of his situation, and refused him justice. Mr. William Sanderson, in particular, who had married his niece, Margaret Snedale[29], and had been entrusted by him in receiving considerable sums from his wine and other offices, at this time, instead of settling his arrear, pretended a claim of £.2,000 on Sir Walter. The knight hereupon directed his trustees to commence an action against Sanderson, who was cast and thrown into prison[30]. Which circumstance accounts for the spleen shewn by Sanderson's son to the memory of Sir Walter, in the contemptible History of Mary and James which he afterward wrote.

Sanderson's conduct.

1608. The Hatfield Papers furnish us another insulated letter from Sir William Wade to the Earl of Salisbury, dated December 9th, 1608, from which the following passage is extracted, in allusion to our subject:

Brought before Cecil.

"Sir Walter Ralegh (*he writes*) sithence his being before Your Lordship, (whereof notice is generally taken) doth shew himself upon the wall in his garden to the view of the people, who gaze upon him, and he stareth on them. Which he doth in his cunning humour, that it might be thought his being before Your Lordship was rather to clear than to charge him. And so he challengeth his keeper, that Your Lordship gave him new liberty for his son to go abroad, and his physician to resort to him. Which, I assure Your Lordship, he useth only to justify himself; and the world expected rather farther restraint, than liberty. Which made me bold, in discretion and conveniency, to restrain him again, and meet with his indiscreet humour, until Your Lordship shall otherwise order[31]."

[29] See William Sanderson's Answer to a scurrilous pamphlet, intituled Observations upon a complete History of Mary and James, 4to, 1656.

[30] See the Observations on the History of Mary and James, already referred to, p. 2.

[31] See Dr. Birch's Collections in Brit. Mus. 4160, cxxiii.

His

His Sherborne-estate had been settled by Sir Walter, as we have seen, upon his elder son, toward the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign[32]; and, notwithstanding his attainder, the king had granted him his life-interest in it[33]. The knight's enemies were, however, ill-satisfied, as long as any part of his ruin remained incomplete. The conveyance, formerly made by Sir Walter, was scrutinized with malignant diligence and referred to Sir John Popham, lord-chief-justice of the king's-bench. His Lordship, in a letter written in August, 1605, gave it as his opinion, that the deed, wanting some essential words[34], could in law convey nothing; yet owned, that the omission of those words was plainly occasioned by the inattention of the clerk who engrossed the deed[35]. Some time afterward, Robert Car, better known by his subsequent title of Earl of Somerset, attracted the favour of His Majesty by those personal accomplishments, which, on this occasion, were so well calculated to ensure him success. Young and fortuneless as he was, he was probably without much difficulty persuaded to take advantage of the flaw in Sir Walter's conveyance, and to sollicit Sherborne of the king. It was on this occasion that Sir Walter addressed the following letter to Car, which in one or two old copies bears date December 1608.

Life-interest in Sherborne granted.

Flaw in conveyance to son.

Car sollicits Sherborne.

Sir WALTER RALEGH *to* CAR, *afterward Earl of* SOMERSET.

"SIR,

"After some great losses and many years sorrows (of both which I have cause to fear I was mistaken in the end) it is come to my knowledge, that yourself, whom I know not but by an honourable fame, hath been persuaded to give me and mine our last fatal blow, by obtaining from His Majesty the inheritance of my children and nephews, lost in the law for want of a word. This done, there re-

Letter to Car.

[32] See Vol. I. p. 320, and Letter to Wife in this chapter.

[33] See Appendix, No. X.

[34] Carew Ralegh writes, *for want of one single word, which word was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of a clerk.*—See Appendix, No. X.

[35] See Dr. Birch's Collections in Brit. Mus. 4160. cxx.

maineth

maineth nothing with me but the name of life, despoiled of all else but the title and sorrow thereof. His Majesty whom I never offended, for I hold it unnatural and unmanlike to hate goodness) stayed me at the grave's brink; not, as I hope, that he thought me worthy of many deaths, and to behold all mine cast out of the world with myself, but as a king, who, judging the poor in truth, hath received a promise from God that his throne shall be established for ever.

And for yourself, Sir, seeing your fair day is but now in the dawn and mine drawn to the evening, your own virtues and the king's grace assuring you of many favours and much honour, I beseech you not to begin your first building upon the ruins of the innocent; and that their sorrows, with mine, may not attend your first plantation. I have been ever bound to your nation, as well for many other graces, as for the true report of my trial to the King's Majesty. Against whom, had I been found malignant, the hearing of my cause would not have changed enemies into friends, malice into compassion, and the minds of the greatest number then present into the commiseration of mine estate. It is not the nature of foul treason to beget such fair passions. Neither could it agree with the duty and love of faithful subjects, especially of your nation, to bewail his overthrow who had conspired against their most natural and liberal lord. I therefore trust, Sir, that you will not be the first that shall kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo the curse of them that enter the fields of the fatherless. Which, if it pleases you to know the truth, is far less in value than in fame. But that so worthy a gentleman as yourself will rather bind us to you (being, Sir, gentlemen not base in birth and alliance) who have interest therein. And myself, with my uttermost thankfulness, will ever remain ready to obey your commands."

WALTER RALEGH[36]."

[36] See the Harleian and other Collections, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 386. This letter has in general been very corruptly printed.—See Tenison's Baconiana, 8vo, 1679. p. 77. A more correct copy has been attempted here from several old manuscripts.

This

This letter appears, however, to have had no effect upon Car; and the sollicitations of Lady Ralegh on her knees, with her children, to the king, were only answered by *I mun have the land, I mun have it for Car.* An informtion was exhibited in the exchequer by the attorney-general, and judgment was given for the crown. Sherborne, with the manors belonging to it and other lands which Sir Walter had purchased[37], were all granted to Car in 1609[38]; and the king's slender requital of eight thousand pounds to Lady Ralegh and her elder son, probably took place at the same time[39]. Sherborne granted to Car. 1609.

The advantages of a cultivated understanding have perhaps seldom been more truly recognised, than they were at this time, by Sir Walter Ralegh, in aleviating confinement and supporting this endless adversity of fortune. The disposition he made of his time discoverd on this, no less than on other occasions, the superiority of his mind; for in the calm cultivation of his intellectual talents, he found the resource of all others best adapted to relieve his situation, and which a superior mind could alone advert to. His History of the World, and many of his political pieces (which we shall have occasion to dwell upon more at large when we come to the subject of his writings[40]) were composed in the Tower. We may conclude also, from one of Sir William Wade's letters already quoted, that much of his time was amused in chemical and medical pursuits; for which he appears to have had a strong partiality[41]. The celebrated cordial which he prepared, which was in so high repute in the time of Charles II. and on which a distinct treatise was written in that reign[42], probably owed its origin to these hours. Among Occupations in the Tower. His cordial.

[37] Called Pinford, Primesly, Barton and its Manor.

[38] See Appendix, No. X. and the Case of Carew Ralegh, Esq. at the Committee for Sale of Delinquents' Estates, a MS. in several collections. (See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 147. note c.)

[39] See Sir Walter's Apology for last Voyage to Guiana, in Chap. IX. of this work. King James in his Declaration (see Appendix) calls these £.8,000, *a competent satisfaction* for Sherborne, though it was afterward valued by the State at £.5,000, *per annum*.

[40] See chapter the last.

[41] A manuscript of chemical processes by Sir Walter is still in existence.—See Ayscough's Catalogue of Brit. Museum, p. 492.

[42] Charles II. commanded Nicholas Le Febure, royal professor of chemistry and apothecary in ordinary to His Majesty's household, to prepare a quantity of this *precious remedy* in the exactest manner. Le Febure also compo-

Favoured by the queen and Prince Henry.

Among his friends and pitiers in this his adverse fortune, were the queen and the celebrated Henry Prince of Wales. An anecdote has been preserved relative to Her Majesty and Ralegh, by Sir Anthony Welden, which I here repeat upon his a thority, and in his own words. "Queen Ann, that brave princess, was in a desperate and some believed an incurable disease, whereof the physicians were at the farthest end of their studies to find the cause, at a *non plus* for the cure. Sir Walter Ralegh, being by his long studies an admirable chemist, undertook and performed the cure; for which he would receive no other reward, but that Her Majesty would procure that certain lords might be sent to examine Cobham, whether he had accused Sir Walter Ralegh of treason at any time under his hand. The king, at the queen's request, and in justice could do no less, sends six lords (which I take were the Duke of Lennox, Salisbury, Worcester, Suffolk, Sir George Carew, and Sir Julius Cæsar) to demand of Cobham, whether he had not under his hand accused Sir Walter Ralegh at Winchester upon that treason he was arraigned for. Cobham did protest *never, nor could he; but,* said he, *that villain Wade did often sollicit me, and not prevailing that way, got me by a trick to write my name upon a piece of white paper, which I, thinking nothing, did. So that if any charge came under my hand, it was forged by that villain Wade, by writing something above my hand without my consent or knowledge.*

Anecdote of Cobham's examination.

sed a treatise in French under His Majesty's auspices, intituled Discours sur le Grand Cordial de Sir Walter Ralegh, published in 8vo, 1665, and previously translated into English, and published by Peter Belon, 12mo, 1664. In the Appendix (No. XII.) the reader will find the Recipe as given by Le Febure, and the ingredients introduced by Sir Kenelm Digby, and Sir Alexander Fraiser, are printed in italic by way of distinction. It is supposed indeed, that more liberties have been taken with Sir Walter's original prescription, which, for want of a perfect copy of it in the MS. of his Chemical Processes, in the British Museum, we are unable to detect. The recipe, as simplified in the London Pharmacopœia, under the title *Aromatic Confection*, is here subjoined.

℞. Zedoary in course powder, and saffron, each ½ lb. distilled water, - 3 pints.

Macerate for 24 hours, then press and strain. Reduce the strained liquor by evaporation to 1½ pint, to which add the following, rubbed to a very fine powder,

Compound-powder of crab's-claws,	16 oz.
Cinnamon and nutmegs, each, -	2
Cloves, - - - - -	1
Smaller cardamom-seeds, husked,	½
Double-refined sugar, - -	2 lb.

make a confection.

These

These six returning to the king, the rest made Salisbury their spokesman, who said; *Sir, My Lord Cobham hath made good all that ever he wrote or said.* Where it is to be noted, that this was but an equivocating trick in Salisbury. For it was true that Cobham had made good *whatever he had writ* (that being but in truth to very nothing)—but never wrote he anything to accuse Ralegh. By which you may see the baseness of these lords, the credulity of the king, and the ruin of Sir Walter Ralegh [43]."

An attachment of peculiar strength, heightened probably by a strong and mutual sense of peculiar merit, appears to have subsisted between Prince Henry and Ralegh. *No king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage* [44], was a saying of that glory of the Stuarts, the darling of the nation while he lived, the just object of her sincere and universal lamentation by his untimely death.

Saying of Prince Henry.

In the spring of 1611, a double alliance with this crown was proposed by the Duke of Savoy's ambassador; between Prince Henry and the eldest daughter of Savoy, and between the Prince of Piedmont and our Princess Elizabeth, afterward espoused by Frederic, Elector-palatine. On this occasion Sir Walter Ralegh wrote two excellent discourses [45], apparently by command of Prince Henry [46], wherein he strongly opposes the proposal. He also dedicated to His Highness some Observations on the Royal Navy, and Sea-service [47]; which appears thus early in his life to have been a favourite subject with that discerning prince, and on which he probably loved to converse and correspond with a person of the knight's experience. A letter which Sir Walter wrote him *touching the model of a ship* is still extant, and

1611.

Writes against marriages with Savoy.

[43] See the Court and Character of King James, 2d edition, 12mo, 1651, p. 35; and a confirmation in the Observations on Mary and James, 4to, 1656, p. 12. The author of Aulicus Coquinariæ makes an absurd reply to this passage by writing, *how could Wade tamper with Cobham to write his name to a blank?—when it appears Cobham never signed at all to his examinations*, p. 90.

[44] See Osborn's Misc. Works, 11th edition, 12mo, 1722, II. 165. and Cokes Detection, p. 37.

[45] See them in Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh, I. 249, 265.

[46] See the beginning of the Discourse touching a Match between the Princess Elizabeth and the Prince of Piedmont.

[47] See them in Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh II. 91.

is printed in the Appendix to this work[48], as a specimen of the ideas of that day on the art of ship-building. The following letter from Ralegh to the prince, on a more popular subject, is inserted in this place upon the authority of Sir Richard Steele, who has left us in the dark as to the occasion on which it was written, remarking only that it makes the prince aware of the weakness to which he was most addicted, at the same time that it applauds the good part of his disposition.

Sir WALTER RALEGH *to Prince* HENRY.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS.

Letter to the prince.

" THE following sheets are addressed to Your Highness, from a man who values his liberty and a very small fortune, in a remote part of this island, under the present constitution, above all the riches and honours that he could anywhere enjoy under any other establishment. You see, Sir, the doctrines that are lately come into the world, and how far the phrase has obtained of calling your royal father God's vicegerent; which ill men have turned both to the dishonour of God, and the impeachment of His Majesty's goodness. They adjoin the vicegerency to the idea of being all-powerful, and not to that of being all-good. His Majesty's wisdom, it is to be hoped, will save him from the snare that may lie under gross adulations; but your youth, and the thirst of praise which I have observed in you, may possibly mislead you to hearken to these charmers, who would conduct your noble nature into tyranny. Be careful, O, My Prince, hear them not, fly from their deceits. You are in the succession to a throne from whence no evil can be imputed to you, but all good must be conveyed by you. Your father is called the vicegerent of Heaven. While he is good, he *is* the vicegerent of Heaven. Shall man have authority from the fountain of good to do evil? No, My Prince," let mean and degenerate spirits which want benevolence, suppose their power impaired by a disability of doing injuries. If want of power to do ill be an incapacity in a prince, with reverence be it spoken, it is an incapacity he has in common with the Deity.

[48] No. XIII.

Let

Let me not doubt but all plans which do not carry in them the mutual happiness of prince and people, will appear as absurd to your great understanding, as disagreeable to your noble nature.

Exert yourself, O Generous Prince, against such sycophants, in the glorious cause of liberty; and assume an ambition worthy of you, to secure your fellow-creatures from slavery; from a condition as much below that of brutes, as to act without reason is less miserable than to act against it. Preserve to your future subjects the divine right of being free-agents, and to your own royal house the divine right of being their benefactors. Believe me, My Prince, there is no other right can flow from God. While Your Highness is forming yourself for a throne, consider the laws as so many common-places in your study of the science of government. When you mean nothing but justice, they are an ease and help to you. This way of thinking, is what gave men the glorious appellatives of deliverers, and fathers of their country. This made the sight of them rouse their beholders into acclamations, and made mankind incapable of bearing their very appearance without applauding it as a benefit. Consider the inexpressible advantages which will ever attend Your Highness, while you make the power of rendering men happy the measure of your actions. While this is your impulse, how easily will that power be extended! The glance of your eye will give gladness, and your every sentence have the force of a bounty. Whatever some men would insinuate, you have lost your subject when you have lost his inclination; you are to preside over the minds, not the bodies of men. The soul is the essence of a man; and you cannot have the true man against his inclination. Choose therefore to be the king or the conqueror of your people; it may be submission, but it cannot be obedience, that is passive. I am,

Sir,

London,
August, 12, 1611. Your Highness' most faithful Servant,

WALTER RALEGH[49].

[49] See Steele's Englishman, a sequel to the Guardian, 12mo, 1714, p. 9. I am not, however, so well convinced, as Sir Richard seems to have been, that this lettter is justly ascribed to Ralegh.

Prince

Prince wishes to restore Sherborne.

Prince Henry, it appears, had for some time warmly sollicited the Sherborne-estate of his father, as if for himself; but with no other intention than that of restoring it to him whom he esteemed its just owner. His Royal Highness at last prevailed, and the king is said to have given Car. £.25,000, as a recompence. The prince's death, however, very shortly afterward, on the 6th of November, 1612, prevented the accomplishment of his noble design, and Sherborne was restored to Car [50].

Dies. 1612.

The following anecdote relative to the prince's last illness is inserted here on the authority, and in the words of Dr. Welwood.

Anecdote of his last illness.

"He *(Ralegh)* had, during his imprisonment made applications to Prince Henry, who contracted a particular esteem for him, kept a constant correspondence with him by letters and messages, and had again and again sollicited the king for his liberty. When the prince fell into his last illness, the queen sent to Sir Walter Ralegh for some of his cordial, which she herself had taken in a fever some time before with remarkable success. Ralegh sent it, together with a letter to the queen, wherein he expressed a tender concern for the prince; and boasting of his medicine, stumbled unluckily upon an expression to this purpose, *that it would certainly cure him or any other of a fever, except in case of poison.* The prince dying though he took it, the queen in the agony of her grief shewed Ralegh's letter, and laid so much weight on the expression about poison, that to her dying day she could never be dissuaded from the opinion that her beloved son had had foul play done him [51]."

His loss to Ralegh.

Thus, in the nineteenth year of his age, were the fond hopes of the nation in this excellent and amiable prince, on a sudden cut-short. To Sir Walter, we may consider his loss of the widest ex-

[50] See Appendix, No. X.

[51] See Dr. Welwood's Notes on Wilson's Hist. of King James, in the Complete History of England fol. 1719, II. 714. Dr. Birch in his Life of Prince Henry informs us that it was the subject of some deliberation whether Ralegh's medicine should be administered—but that after having been tasted and proved, it was, with the leave and advice of the lords of the council there present, given to the prince. Like the former medicines, however, it was in vain, except that forcing the spark of life still remaining, it threw him into a perspiration, (p. 357.) It is ridiculous enough, that whatever medicine has been prescribed by Sir Walter has always been called *his cordial.*

tent

tent imaginable; as well from the real esteem which the knight has manifested for his character, as from the future prospects which the prince's patronage afforded him. The two following passages in Sir Walter's History of the World, may convey some idea of his feelings on the occasion.

"Of the art of war by sea, I had written a treatise for the Lord Henry Prince of Wales; a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or modern. But God hath spared me the labour of finishing it by his loss; by the loss of that brave prince, of which, like an eclipse of the sun, we shall find the effects hereafter[51]. Impossible it is, to equal words and sorrows; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him—*curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*" (Lib. v. c. i. §. 6.)

"Lastly, whereas this book, by the title it hath, calls itself the First Part of the General History of the World, implying a second and third volume, which I also intended, and have hewn-out; beside many other discouragements persuading my silence, it hath pleased God to take that glorious prince out of the world to whom they were directed. Whose unspeakable and never-enough-lamented loss, hath taught me to say with Job, *versa est in luctum cithera mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium.*" (Conclusion.)

Death of C[illegible]

The death of Cecil, which happened six months earlier than that of the prince, had probably given rise in Sir Walter to new hopes of regaining his freedom, which would naturally be materially discouraged by the latter event. Yet, although his remaining influence was insufficient to procure his release till after the disgrace of Car (now Earl of Somerset) for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, he had in 1614, the liberty of the Tower allowed him. That year had however previously been embittered to him by his son Walter being obliged to fly the kingdom on account of a duel in which he had been engaged with a Mr. Tyrwhit, a dependant of the lord high treasurer[52]. It is also to be distinguished for the first publication of Sir Walter's History of the World[53].

1614.

Obtains Liberty of the Tower.

Son Walter obliged to fly.

His World published.

[51] How true was this prediction!

[52] See Dr. Birch's Life of Raleigh, p. 65.

[53] See Camden's Annals of King James in Complete Hist. of England, II. 643.

Money,

Money, the most powerful agent on these occasions, at last effected what the strongest patronage could not accomplish. Car had now paid the penalty of his crimes, and Villiers was the rising favourite. Fifteen hundred pounds presented to Sir William St. John and Sir Edward Villiers, procured their influence with the nephew of the latter, and the king's consent to the enlargement of Sir Walter[55]. The following letter has been preserved, written by the knight to the favourite on the day of his release.

King's consent to his freedom.

Sir WALTER RALEGH *to* VILLIERS, *afterward Duke of* BUCKINGHAM.

" SIR,

Letter to Villiers.

" You have, by your mediation, put me again into the world. I can but acknowledge it; for, to pay any part of your favour by any service of mine, as yet it is not in my power. If it succeed well, a good part of the honour shall be yours; and if I do not also make it profitable unto you, I shall shew myself exceeding ungrateful. In the meanwhile, and till God discover the success, I beseech you, to reckon me among the number of your faithful servants, though the least able.

" W. RALEGH[56]."

1616.

Released.

Thus did Sir Walter, on the 17th of March[57], 1615-16, after a cruel imprisonment of more than twelve years duration, obtain at last his freedom by bribery and a change of favourites. In regard to his fellow-sufferers—Lord Grey died in the Tower, in 1614[58]; and Lord Cobham survived Sir Walter about three months, dying, as Camden informs us, *miserable and poor*[59].

Fate of Grey and Cobham.

[55] See the Observations on Saunderson's History, before referred to, p. 10.

[56] Copied by Oldys from the original in the library of James West, Esq. See his Life of Ralegh, p. 192.

[57] See Birch's Life of Ralegh, p. 65. Camden, in his Annals of King James, fixes the date three days later.

[58] See Dugdale's Baronage.

[59] Ann. K. James, 1619. In Ralegh's Prerogative of Parliaments is a curious passage relative to Cobham's property, and Cecil's *management* in general of the crown-revenues. (See Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh, I. 200.)

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

WHEN Ralegh saw Somerset brought to the Tower, and himself released, he is reported to have said, *the whole history of the world had not the like precedent, of a king's priſoner to purchaſe freedom, and his boſom-favourite to have the halter, but in Scripture, in the caſe of Mordecai and Haman.* Upon hearing which, we are told the king replied, *Ralegh might die in that deceit*[1]; which we shall find proved too true, for Somerset was pardoned and Ralegh executed. Anecdote.

Under every difficulty of persecution and imprisonment, Guiana still strongly prevailed in the mind of Sir Walter. The intermediate voyages of Messrs. Leigh and Harcourt, the former in 1604, the latter in 1609, had contributed little to the progress of the enterprise; while the royal concurrence which they obtained, proved that King James was well satisfied as to the claims he had in that country. At least every second year during his imprisonment, Sir Walter was at the charge of sending thither, to keep up the hopes of relief against the new encroachments and cruelties of the Spaniards[2]; and some years previously to his release, he had proposed an expedition to Guiana if he could obtain his freedom. The death of Cecil, and the subsequent advancement of Sir Ralph Winwood, no friend to the Spanish interest, as secretary of state, improved probably his hopes of success. The following letter, addressed to Sir Ralph by Ralegh on the occasion, bears date in a copy of it in the Harleian Collection, July 1615[3]. Correspondence with Guiana.

[1] See Saunderson's History of King James, &c.

[2] See his Apology in this Chapter.

[3] No. XXXIX, Sec. 41. p. 342. See also Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh, 11. p. 362.

Sir WALTER RALEGH *to Secretary* WINWOOD.

" HONOURED SIR,

Letter to Winwood.

" I was lately persuaded by two gentlemen, my ancient friends, to acquaint Your Honour with some offers of mine, made heretofore for a journey to Guiana; who were of opinion, that it would be better understood now, than when it was first propounded. Which advice having surmounted my despair, I have presumed to send unto Your Honour, the copies of those letters which I then wrote, both to His Majesty and to the treasurer Cecil. Wherein, as well the reasons that first moved me are remembered, as the objections by him made are briefly answered.

What I know of the riches of that place, not by hearsay, but what mine eyes have seen, I have said it often. But it was then to no end, because those that had the greatest trust were resolved not to believe it. Not because they doubted the truth, but because they doubted my disposition toward themselves, where, if God had blessed me in the enterprize, I had recovered His Majesty's favour and good opinion. Other cause than this, or other suspicion, they never had any.

Our late worthy Prince of Wales, was extreme curious in searching out the nature of my offences. The Queen's Majesty hath informed herself from the beginning. The King of Denmark, at both times of his being here, was thoroughly satisfied of my innocency. They would otherwise never have moved His Majesty on my behalf.

The wife, the brother, and the son of a king, do not use to sue for men suspect. But, Sir, since they all have done it out of their charity, and but with references to me alone, Your Honour, whose respect hath only relation to His Majesty's service, and strengthened by the example of those princes, may with the more hardiness do the like; being princes to whom His Majesty's good estate is no less dear,

dear, and all men that shall oppugn it is no less hateful, than to the king himself.

It is true, Sir, that His Majesty hath sometimes answered, that his council knew me better than he did; meaning some two or three of them. And it was indeed my infelicity. For, had His Majesty known me, I had never been here where I now am; or, had I known His Majesty, they had never been so long there where they now are. His Majesty not knowing of me, hath been my ruin; and His Majesty misknowing of them, hath been the ruin of a goodly part of his estate. But they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to His Majesty's knowledge. But, Sir, how littlesoever His Majesty knew me, and how muchsoever he believed them, yet have I been bound to His Majesty, both for my life and all that remains; of which, but for His Majesty, nor life nor aught else had remained. In this respect, Sir, I am bound to yield-up the same life, and all I have, for His Majesty's service. To die for the king, and not by the king, is all the ambition I have in the world.

WALTER RALEGH."

Prepares for a new voyage.

His freedom obtained, Sir Walter, without delay, made preparations for a new voyage to Guiana. The eight thousand pounds given by the king against Sherborne, and which had been lent to the Countess of Bedford, were now called-in for this purpose. Lady Ralegh's consent was obtained for selling an estate belonging to her at Mitcham, in Surry, which produced two thousand five hundred pounds[4]. Co-adventurers in the undertaking were sollicited and obtained, among which were some foreigners[5]; and a commission,

[4] See the Observations on Saunderson's Hist. p. 11. and Ralegh's Apology. In Sir Toby Matthews' Collection of Letters (p. 66.) is one from Ralegh to a nobleman, which, perhaps, relates to this sale.

[5] See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 193.

through the influence of Sir Ralph Winwood[6] procured from the king, bearing date August the 26th 1616[7].

Spanish politics.

A due attention to the history of this reign will convince us, that among other foreign powers, the court of Spain well understood the character of James. On his weak opinion, that any alliance below that of a great king was unworthy of a Prince of Wales, that court had already founded the hope of governing him in points of the utmost importance; and in the life-time of Prince Henry, with the view of holding James in neutrality as to the succession of Cleves, some hints had been dropped of bestowing on that prince the eldest daughter of Spain, afterward espoused by Lewis XIII.

Gondomar.

Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna (better known by his subsequent title of Count de Gondomar) at this time the Spanish Ambassador in England, was a man who, under the appearance of frankness and pleasantry, disguised the most dangerous polities[8]. He soon became acquainted with the disposition of James, and failed not to exact the severest contributions from his weakness. Among these sacrifices, perhaps no one appears more remarkable to posterity than the life of Sir Walter Ralegh.

His practices.

The knight's American voyages in the former reign, had been looked upon by Spain with too jealous an eye to leave Gondomar unemployed at this time, when Sir Walter was preparing a new expedition. Accordingly we find him complaining to King James of the knight's intention as hostile and piratical to Philip his master[9]; holding the king in a state of severe circumspection as to his proceedings, and drawing from his weakness every particular of the voyage. How far the following letter, from the new favourite to Sir Ralph Winwood, confirms the latter supposition, the reader may decide for himself.

[6] See King James' Declaration in the Appendix.

[7] See the Commission in the above Declaration.

[8] Hume's England.

[9] See King James' Declaration.

The

The Earl of BUCKINGHAM *to Secretary* WINWOOD.

" SIR,

" I have acquainted His Majesty with your letter, and that which came inclosed from Sir Henry Wotton, of whose opinion His Majesty is, touching the advertisement given therein; that this discovery is like to unite the Duke and the Venetian closer together, and bring on better conditions for a peace with Spain. His Majesty perceiveth, by a letter he hath received from the Spanish ambassador, that you have not been yet with him, to acquaint him with the order taken by His Majesty about Sir Walter Ralegh's voyage. And, therefore, would have you go to him as soon as you can possible, to relate unto him particularly His Majesty's care of that business, and the course he hath taken therein. And so I rest, Buckingham's letter.

Your very loving friend,

Lincoln, March 28th, 1617.

BUCKINGHAM[10]."

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Although released from confinement, Sir Walter had not obtained a pardon; and appears to have been the less sollicitous in this particular, owing to the commission which he had received from the king. The writer of the Observations on Sanderson's History, informs us [11], that Sir Walter's former friends, Sir William St. John and Sir Edward Villiers, offered him for £. 700, *not only his full pardon, but liberty not to go his voyage, if he pleased*, both which he refused. For in a Offered a pardon.

[10] See the Hardwicke State Papers, No. 25. Dr. Birch remarks, though this letter does not inform us what Winwood was to deliver to Gondomar, it appears that the business was of such a kind that the honest secretary was not forward in transacting it. (Life of Ralegh, p. 72.)

[11] Page 10.

conversation

Dissuaded by Bacon.

conversation with Sir Francis Bacon on the subject, the latter is said thus to have addressed the knight, "Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money. Spare your purse in this particular, for, upon my life, you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past, already; the king having, under his broad-seal, made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers[34]." This opinion, strengthened probably by his own, induced Sir Walter to proceed on his voyage, without a pardon in due form.

Force for Guiana.

It was seven months after the date of the commission before that part of the expedition which lay in the Thames, consisting of seven sail, was ready for sea. This force and the commanders were as follows[35]:

	Tons.	Ordnance.
Destiny, Sir WALTER RALEGH -	440	36 pieces.
Jason, JOHN PENNINGTON - -	240	25
Encounter, EDW. HASTINGS (afterward WHITNEY) - - -	160	17
Thunder, Sir WARHAM SAINTLEGER	180	20
Flying Joan, JOHN CHIDLEY -	120	14
Southampton, JOHN BAYLY - -	80	6
Page, JAMES BARKER - -	25	3

Before the fleet left the English coast, it was joined by the following vessels less particularly described:

Convertine, KEYMIS,
Confidence, WOLASTON,
Flying Hart, Sir JOHN FERNE,
Chudley, ————,
A Fly-boat, SAMUEL KING,
Another, ROBERT SMITH,
A Carvel, ————.

[34] See Howell's Letters, 11th edit. 8vo. 1754. p. 386. Carew Ralegh (see the same letter) makes the price £.1500; perhaps confounding this with Sir Walter's former bribe.

[35] Oldys refers to *the end* of a scarce tract, intituled News of Sir Walter Ralegh, 4to, 1618, for this list, where, however, I do not find it in the copy which I possess of that tract.

The

The Destiny was built at Ralegh's own charge, and his son Walter accompanied him in her as captain. There were also on board of her two hundred men, of which eighty were gentlemen-volunteers and adventurers, many of them Sir Walter's relations; which number was afterward increased[14].

On the 28th of March, 1617, the very date of Buckingham's letter, Sir Walter, with the former part of this fleet, dropped-down the Thames[15]. In the May following he published his orders to the fleet at Plymouth, which will be found in the Appendix[16]; and it was late in June, or early in July, before the whole of his force joined company with him, and he was enabled to clear that port. Stress of weather obliged him again to put into Cork, and it was late in August before he could proceed. Early in September he made the Canaries, in October the Cape de Verd islands, and in November the continent of South America[17]; suffering great distress upon the whole passage, which he thus described in a letter written to his wife on his arrival:

1617. 4th Guiana Voyage.

Sir WALTER *to Lady* RALEGH.

"SWEET HEART,

"I can write unto you but with a weak hand, for I have suffered the most violent calenture for fifteen days, that ever man did and lived. But God, that gave me a strong heart in all my adversities, hath also now strengthened it in the hell-fire of heat. Letter to wife.

We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our ship, of which forty-two have died, and there are yet many sick. But having recovered the land of Guiana this 12th of November, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hundred men, and the rest of our fleet are reasonable strong. Strong enough, I hope, to perform what

[14] See Oldys as before, Ralegh's Apology, and Howell's Letters.

[15] See Camden's Annals of Jas. I.

[16] Number XIV.

[17] See Ralegh's Apology and his Journal of this Voyage in the Cotton-library, Titus, B. VIII. 217.

we

we have undertaken, if the diligent care at London, to make our strength known to the Spanish King, by his ambassador, have not taught the Spanish king to fortify all the entrances against us. Howsoever, we must make the adventure; and, if we perish, it shall be no honour for England, nor gain for His Majesty, to lose, among many other, one hundred as valiant gentlemen as England hath in it.

Of Captain Bayly's base coming from us at the Canaries, see a letter of Keymis' to Mr. Scony; and of the unnatural weather, storms, and rains, and winds. He hath, in the same letter, given a touch of the way that hath ever been sailed in fourteen days, now hardly performed in forty days. God, I trust, will give us comfort in that which is to come.

In my passage to the Canaries I stayed at Gomera, where I took water in peace, because the country durst not deny it me. I received there, of an English race, a present of oranges, lemons, quinces, and pomegranates, without which I could not have lived. Those I preserved in fresh sands, and I have of them yet, to my great refreshing.

Your son had never so good health, having no distemper in all the heat under the line. All my servants have escaped, but Crab and my cook; yet all have had the sickness. Crofts and March and the rest are all well. Remember my service to my Lord Carew and Mr. Secretary Winwood; I write not to them; for I can write of nought but miseries. Yet, of men of sort, we have lost our serjeant-major, Capt. Piggot, and his lieutenant, Captain Edward Hastings (who would have died at home, for both his liver, spleen, and brains were rotten), my son's lieutenant, Payton, and my cousin, Mr. Hews, Mr. Mordant, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Hayward, Captain Jenning, the merchant Keymis of London, and the master chyrurgeon, Mr. Refiner, Mr. Moor, the governor of the Bermudas, our provost-marshal, William Steed, lieutenant Vescie, but to mine inestimable grief, Hammon and Talbot. By the next I trust you shall hear better of us; in God's hands we were, and in him we trust.

The bearer, Captain Alley, for his infirmity of his head, I have sent

sent back [18]. An honest, valiant man, he can deliver you all that is past. Commend me to my worthy friends at Lothbury, Sir John Leigh and Mr. Bower (whose nephew, Knevit, is well), and to my cousin Blundel. And my most devoted and humble service to Her Majesty.

To tell you that I might be here king of the Indians were a vanity. But my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with fresh meat, and all that the country yields; all offer to obey me.

Commend me to poor Carew, my son.

From Caliana, in Guiana, the 14th of November [19]."

Death of Son Walter.

Betrayed.

The distresses described in this letter were, however, trifling, compared to what Ralegh had still to undergo in this fatal voyage; in which, beside the desertion he suffered, he lost his son Walter, found himself betrayed by his king, and drew upon himself the persecution of the Spanish ambassador. His feelings under these calamities will be best described in his own words. The remainder of the present chapter will therefore be devoted to his letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, and another to his wife, written from St. Christopher's, on his homeward passage; and lastly, to his Apology for the Voyage, written on his return to this country, with the appended Address to Lord Carew, who was probably to present the Apology to His Majesty. The repeated relations of the same circumstances which occur in these pieces, though perhaps tedious, will have the merit of more strongly authenticating the facts (so important in Sir Walter's history) to which they bear reference:

[18] He returned by a Dutch vessel lying there, and arrived in England in January, 1618. Camden, in his Annals of James, writes, *January* 31, 1618, *Peter Alley, sent back by Sir Walter Ralegh, signified that he was very sickly, and that several volunteers died of their sickness.* Alley appears also to have been the bearer of *News of Sir Walter Ralegh with the true description of Guiana, as also a relation of the excellent government, and much hope of the prosperity of the voyage, sent from a gentleman of his fleet to a most especial friend of his in London, from the river of Caliana, on the coast of Guiana, Nov.* 17, 1617, which was printed in London, in a quarto pamphlet in 1618, with the initials R. M. at the end.

[19] See the Harleian and other Collections, and Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh II. 363.

Sir WALTER RALEGH *to Sir* RALPH WINWOOD.

"SIR,

Letter to Winwood.

"As I have not hitherto given you any account of our proceedings and passages toward the Indies, so I have no other subject to write of than of the greatest misfortunes that ever befel any man.

For whereas, for the first, all those that navigate between Cape de Verd and America do pass it between fifteen or twenty days at most, we found the wind so contrary, and (which are also contrary to nature) so many storms and rains, as we spent six weeks in the passage. By reason whereof, and that in so great heat we wanted water (for at the isle Bravo, off Cape de Verd, we lost our anchors and cables, and our water-casks, being driven from the island with a hurricano), we were like all to have perished. Great sickness also fell among us, and carried away great numbers of our ablest men both for sea and land.

The 11th of November we had sight of Guiana, and soon after came to anchor in five degrees at the river Caliana. There we staid till the 4th of December, landed our sick men, set-up the barges and shallops, which were brought out of England, in quarters, washed our ships, and took in fresh water; being fed and cherished by the Indians of my old acquaintance with a great deal of love and respect. Myself, being in the hands of death these six weeks, and was not able otherwise to move than as I was carried in a chair, gave order to five small ships to sail into Oroonoko, having Captain Keymis for their conductor toward the mines. And in those five ships, five companies of fifty, under the command of Captain Parker and Captain North, brethren to the Lord Mounteagle and the Lord North, valiant gentlemen, and of infinite patience for the labour, hunger and heat which they have endured. My son had the third company, Captain Thornhurst of Kent the fourth company, Captain Chidley by his lieutenant, the fifth. But, as my serjeant-major, Captain Pigot

got of the Low-countries, died in the former miserable passage, so now my lieutenant Sir Warham Saintleger lay sick without hope of life, and the charge conferred on my nephew, George Ralegh; who had also served long with infinite commendations, but, by reason of my absence, and of Sir Warham's, was not so well obeyed as the enterprise required.

As they passed-up the river, the Spaniards began the war, and shot at us, both with their ordnance and muskets. Whereupon the companies were forced to charge them, and soon after beat them out of the town. In the assault my son, more desirous of honour than safety, was slain; with whom, to say truth, all the respects of this world have taken end in me. And although these five captains had as weak companies as ever followed valiant leaders, yet were there among them some twenty or thirty valiant and adventurous gentlemen, and of singular courage. As, of my son's company, Mr. Knivet, Mr. Hammon, Mr. Langworth, Mr. John Pleasington; his officers', Sir John Heydon, Mr. Simon Leak, corporal of the field, Mr. Hammon, the elder brother, Mr. Nicholas of Buckingham, Mr. Roberts of Kent, Mr. Perin, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Mollineux, Mr. Winter and his brother, Mr. Wray, Mr. Miles Herbert, Mr. Bradshaw, Captain Hall, and others. Sir, I have set down the names of these gentlemen, to the end that if His Majesty shall have cause to use their service, it may please you to take notice of them for very sufficient gentlemen.

The other five ships staid at Trinidado, having no other port capable of them near Guiana. The second ship was commanded by my vice-admiral Captain John Pennington, of whom, to do him right, I dare say he is one of the sufficientest gentlemen for the sea that England hath. The third by Sir Warham Saintleger, an exceeding valiant and worthy gentleman. The fourth by Sir John Ferne. The fifth by Captain Chidley of Devon.

With these five ships I daily attended their armada of Spain. Which, had they set upon us, our force divided, the one half in Oroonoko, one hundred and fifty miles from us, we had not only been torn in pieces, but all those in the river had also perished, being

ing of no force at all for the sea-fight. For we had resolved to have been burnt by their sides, had the armada arrived. But belike they stai for us at Margarita, by which they knew we must pass toward the Indies. For it pleased His Majesty to value us at so little, as to command me, upon my allegiance, to set-down under my hand the country, and the very river by which I was to enter it; to set-down the number of my men, and burthen of my ships, and what ordnance every ship carried. Which being known to the Spanish ambassador and by him sent to the King of Spain, a dispatch was made, and letters sent from Madrid, before my departure out of the Thames. For his first letter, sent by a bark of advice, was dated March 19th, 1617, at Madrid; which letter I have, here inclosed, sent to Your Honour. The rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not. The second, by the king, dated May 2d, sent also by a colonel of Diego de Palameca, Governor of Guiana, Eldorado, and Trinidado. The third by the bishop of Portorico, and delivered to Palameca, July 15th, at Trinidado. And the fourth was sent from the farmer and secretary of his customs in the Indies. At the same time, by that of the king's hand sent by the bishop, there was also a commission for the speedy levying of three hundred soldiers and ten pieces of ordnance, to be sent from Portorico, for the defence of Guiana; one hundred and fifty from Nuevo Regno de Granada, under the command of Anthony Musica; and the other one hundred and fifty from Portorico to be conducted by Captain Fran. Lavelio.

Now, Sir, if all that have traded to the Indies since His Majesty's time, knew that the Spaniards have flayed alive all the poor men which they have taken, being but merchantmen, what death and cruel torment shall we expect if they conquer us? Certainly they have hitherto failed grossly, we being set-out thence as we were, and discovered both for number, time, and place.

Lastly, to make an apology for not working the mine. Although I know His Majesty, whom I am to satisfy, expects not so much of my hands, myself having lost my son and my estate in the enterprise, yet it is true that the Spaniards took more care to defend the passage leading unto it, than they did for the town; which by the king's instructions,

structions they might easily do, the countries being *aspera et nemorosa*. But it is true, that when Captain Keymis found the river low, and that he could not approach the banks in most places near the mine by a mile; and when he found a descent, a volley of shot came from the woods upon the boat, and slew two rowers, and hurt six others, and shot a valiant gentleman (Captain Thornhurst, of which wound he languisheth to this day) he, to wit Keymis, following his own advice, thought that it was in vain to discover the mine. For he gave me this for an excuse at his return, that the companies of English in the town of St. Thome were not able to defend it against the daily and nightly assaults of the Spaniards; that the passages of the mines were of thick and unpassable woods; and that, the mine being discovered, they had no men to work it; and therefore he did not discover it at all. For it is true the Spaniards having two gold-mines near the town, the one possessed by Pedro Roderigo de Parama, the second by Harmian Frontino, the third (of silver) by Francisco Fasardo, they all lie-still for want of negroes to work them. For as the Indians cannot be constrained, by a law of Charles V., so the Spaniards will not, nor can endure the labour of these mines, whatsoever the braggadocio, the Spanish ambassador, saith; as I shall prove under the proprietor's hand, by the custom-book and the king's quinto, of which I received an ingot or two.

I shall also make it appear to any prince or state that will undertake it, how easily those mines and five or six more of them may be possessed; and the most of them in those parts which never as yet have been attempted by any; nor any passage to them ever discovered by the English, French, or Dutch.

But at Keymis' return from Oroonoko, when I rejected his counsel and his course, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my credit with the king past recovery, he slew himself. For I told him, that seeing my son was slain, I cared not if I had lost an hundred more in opening of the mine, so my credit had been saved. For I protest before God, had not Captain Whitney (to whom I gave more countenance than to all the captains of my fleet) run from me

at

at the Granadoes, and carried another ship with him of Captain Wolaston's, I would have left my body at St. Thome by my son's, or have brought with me out of that or other mines, so much gold-ore as should have satisfied the king I propounded no vain thing.

What shall become of me I know not. I am unpardoned in England, and my poor estate consumed, and whether my prince will give me bread or no I know not. I desire Your Honour to hold me in your good opinion, to remember my service to My Lords of Arundel and Pembroke, to take some pity on my poor wife, to whom I dare not write, for renewing her sorrow for her son, and beseech you to give a copy of this to My Lord Carew; for to a broken mind, a sick body, and weak eyes, it is a torment to write many letters. I have found many things of importance for discovering the state and weakness of the Indies, which, if I live, I shall hereafter impart unto Your Honour, to whom I shall remain a faithful servant,

WALTER RALEGH.

Postscript.

Since the death of Keymis, it is confessed by the serjeant-major and others of his inward friends, that he told them that he could have brought them unto the mine within two hours march from the river-side. But, because my son was slain, myself unpardoned and not like to live, he had no reason to open the mine, either for the Spaniard or for the king. They answered that the king, though I were not pardoned, had granted me my heart's desire under the great seal. He replied, that the grant to me was to a man *non ens* in the law, and therefore of no force.

This discourse they had, which I knew not of till after his death. But, when I was resolved to write unto Your Honour, he prayed me to join with him in excusing his not going to the mine. I answered him I would not do it. But, if himself could satisfy the king and state that he had reason not to open it, I should be glad of; but, for my

my part, I must avow that he knew it and that he might without loss have done it. Other excuses I would not frame. He told me that he would wait on me presently and give me better satisfaction. But I was no sooner come from him into my cabin but I heard a pistol go-off over my head. And, sending to know who shot it, word was brought me that Keymis shot it out of his cabin-window to cleanse it. And his boy going into his cabin, found him lying upon his bed with much blood by him, and, looking in his face, saw him dead. The pistol, being but little, did but crack his rib; but, turning him over, he found a long knife in his body all but the handle.

Sir, I have sent into England with my cousin Herbert (a very valiant, honest gentleman) divers unworthy persons, good-for-nothing neither by sea nor land. And, though it was at their own suit, yet I know they will wrong me in all that they can. I beseech Your Honour that the scum of men may not be believed of me, who have taken more pains and suffered more, than the meanest rascal in the ship. These being gone, I shall be able to keep the sea until the end of August, with some four reasonable good ships. Sir, wheresoever God shall permit me to arrive in any part of Europe, I will not fail to let Your Honour know what we have done. Till then and ever,

I remain,

Your Honour's Servant,

WALTER RALEGH[20]."

[20] This letter in one of the old MS. copies of it bears date St. Christopher's, March 21st, 1617. See the Harleian and other Collections, and Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 365, 374. The latter editor, following Ralegh's Remains, has improperly made a distinct letter of the postscript.

Sir

Sir WALTER *to Lady* RALEGH.

Letter to wife.

"I was loath to write because I know not how to comfort you, and God knows I never knew what sorrow meant till now. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God; and remember that the Queen's Majesty bare the loss of Prince Henry with a magnanimous heart, and the Lady Harrington of her only son. Comfort your heart, dearest Bess, I shall sorrow for us both. And I shall sorrow the less, because I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live.

I refer you to Mr. Secretary Winwood's letter, who will give you a copy of it if you send for it. Therein you shall know what hath passed, which I have written by that letter; for my brains are broken, and it is a torment to me to write, especially of misery. I have desired Mr. Secretary to give My Lord Carew a copy of his letter. I have cleansed my ship of sick men and sent them home, and hope that God will send us somewhat before we return. Commend me to all at Lothbury. You shall hear from me, if I live, from Newfoundland; where I mean to clean my ships and revictual, for I have tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bless and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your most valiant son!

This 22nd of March, from the Isle of Christopher's,

Yours,

WALTER RALEGH.

Postscript.

I protest before the majesty of God, that as Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins died heart-broken when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly do the like did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve yourself that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart.

It is true that Keymis might have gone directly to the mine, and meant it. But after my son's death, he made them believe that he knew not the way, and excused himself upon the want of water in the river; and, counterfeiting many impediments, left it unfound. When he came back, I told him he had undone me and that my credit was lost for ever. He answered, that when my son was lost, and that he left me so weak that he thought not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a company of rascals, who, after my son's death, made no account of him. He farther told me, that the English sent-up into Guiana could hardly defend the Spanish town of St. Thome which they had taken; and therefore for them to pass through thick woods it was impossible, and more impossible to have victuals brought them into the mountains. And it is true that the governor Diego Palameca and other four captains being slain, whereof my son Wat slew one, Plessington (Wat's serjeant) and John of Moroccoes (one of his men) slew two; I say, five of them slain in the entrance of the town, the rest went-off in a whole body. And each took more care to defend the passages to their mines, of which they had three within a league of the town, beside a mine that was about five miles off, than they did of the town itself.

Yet Keymis, at the first, was resolved to go to the mine. But, when he came to the bank-side to land, he had two men of his slain outright from the bank and six others hurt; and Captain Thornhurst shot in the head, of which wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away these twelve weeks. Now, when Keymis came-back and gave me the former reasons which moved him not to open the mine (the one the death of my son, a second the weakness of the English, and their impossibilities to work it, and to be victualled; a third, that it were a folly to discover it for the Spaniards, and lastly my weakness, and being unpardoned) and that I rejected all these his arguments, and told him that I must leave him to himself to answer it to the king and state, he shut himself into his cabin and shot himself with a pocket-pistol which broke one of his ribs; and finding that he had

not prevailed, he thrust a long knife under his short ribs. up to the handle, and died.

Thus much I have written to Mr. Secretary, to whose letters I refer you. But because I think my friends will rather hearken after you than any other to know the truth, I did after the sealing break-open the letter again, to let you know in brief the state of that business. Which I pray you impart to My Lord of Northumberland and Silvanus Scorie, and to Sir John Leigh.

For the rest, there was never poor man so exposed to the slaughter as I was. For, being commanded upon my allegiance to set-down, not only the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it, to name my ships' number, men, and my artillery; this was sent by the Spanish ambassador to his master the king of Spain. The king wrote his letters to all parts of the Indies, especially to the governor Palameca, of Guiana, El Dorado, and Trinidado. Of which the first letter bore date March 19, 1617, at Madrid, when I had not yet left the Thames; which letter I have sent to Mr. Secretary. I have also two other letters of the king's, which I reserve, and one of the council's. The king also sent a commission to levy three hundred soldiers out of his garrisons of Nuevo Regno de Granado, and Portorico, with ten pieces of brass ordnance to entertain us. He also prepared an armada by sea to set upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preserved; if I live I shall make it known. My brains are broken and I cannot write much. I live yet, and I told you why.

Whitney, for whom I sold all my plate at Plymouth, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than to all the captains of my fleet, ran from me at the Granadoes, and Wolaston with him. So as I have now but five ships, and one of those I have sent home; and in my fly-boat, a rabble of idle rascals, which I know will not spare to wound me, but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in all the fleet hath taken the pains and care that I have done; that hath slept so little and travailed so much. My friends will not believe

believe them, and for the rest I care not. God in heaven bless you and strengthen your heart.

Yours,

WALTER RALEGH [21]."

Sir WALTER RALEGH's *Apology for his last Voyage to* GUIANA.

Apology.

" IF the ill success of this enterprise of mine had been without example, I should have needed a large discourse, and many arguguments for my justification. But if the vain attempts of the greatest princes of Europe, both among themselves and against the great Turk, are in all modern histories left to every eye to peruse; it is not so strange that myself, being but a private man, and drawing after me the chains and fetters whereunto I have been thirteen years tied in the Tower, being unpardoned and in disgrace with my Sovereign Lord, have, by other men's errors, failed in the attempt I undertook.

For if that Charles V. returned with unexampled loss (I will not say dishonour) from Algier in Africa; or if King Sebastian lost himself and his army in Barbary; if the invincible fleet and forces of Spain in eighty-eight were beaten home by the Lord Charles Howard, admiral of England; if M. Strozzi, the Count Brizack, the Count Vinnoso, and others, with a fleet of fifty-eight sail, and 6000 soldiers, encountered with far less numbers, could not defend the Terceras, (leaving to speak of a world of other attempts furnished by kings and princes) if Sir Francis Drake, Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Thomas Baskerville, men for their experience and valour as eminent as England had any, strengthened with divers of Her Majesty's ships, and filled with soldiers at will, could not possess themselves of the treasure they sought for, which in their view was imbarked in certain frigates at Portorico, yet afterward they were repulsed with

[21] See the above Collections, and Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 370.

fifty negroes upon the mountains of Vasques Numius, or Tierra de Capira, in their passage toward Panama; if Sir John Norris (though not by any fault of his) failed in the attempt of Lisbon, and returned with the loss, by sickness and otherwise, of 8000 men; what wonder is it, but that mine (which is the last) being followed with a company of volunteers, who for the most part had neither seen the sea nor the wars, who, some forty gentlemen excepted, were the very scum of the world, drunkards, blasphemers, and such others as their fathers, brothers, and friends thought it an exceeding good gain to be discharged of them, with the hazard of some thirty, forty, or fifty pounds, knowing they could not have lived a whole year so cheap at home; I say, what wonder is it, if I have failed, where I could neither be present myself, nor had any of the commanders whom I most trusted living, or in state to supply my place?

Now, whereas it was bruited, both before and since my departure out of England, and by the most men believed, that I meant nothing less than to go to Guiana; but that being once at liberty, and in mine own power, having made my way with some foreign prince, I would turn pirate, and utterly forsake my country; my being at Guiana, my returning into England unpardoned, and my not taking the spoil of the subjects of any Christian prince, hath (I doubt not) destroyed that opinion.

But this is not all. For it hath been given out by an hypocritical thief, who was the first master of my ship, and by an ungrateful youth which waited upon me in my cabin (though of honourable worthy parents) and by others, that I carried with me out of England, 22,000 pieces of 22 shillings the piece, and therefore needed not, or cared not to discover any mine in Guiana, nor make any other attempt elsewhere. Which report being carried secretly from one to another in my ship, and so spread through all the ships in the fleet which staid with me at Trinidado while our land-forces were in Guiana, had like to have been my utter overthrow in a most miserable fashion. For it was consulted, when I had taken my barge, and gone ashore, (either to discover or otherwise, as I often did) that my ship should have set

sail

sail and left me there; where either I must have suffered famine, been eaten with wild beasts, or have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, and been flayed alive, as others of the English, which came thither but to trade only, had formerly been.

To this report of riches I make this protestation; that if it can be proved, either now or hereafter, that I had in the world, either in my keeping or in my power, either directly or indirectly, in trust or otherwise, above 100 pieces, when I departed London, of which I had left 45 pieces with my wife and 55 I carried with me, I acknowledge myself for a reprobate, a villain, a traitor to the king, and the most unworthy man that doth live, or ever hath lived upon the earth. True it is that those which sought all the bills from the scriveners, found £.14,000 or £.15,000 more adventured than mine own adventure came unto; but did not consider that I gave the bills of adventure for the other five ships, or for the greatest part thereof. Which amounted to £.15,000 or £.16,000, but I never received any penny of that money.

Now, whereas the captains that left me in the Indies, and captain Bayly, that ran away from me at Lancerota, have, to excuse themselves, objected for the first, that I lingered at Plymouth when I might have gone thence, and lost a fair wind and time of the year, or to that effect; it is strange that men of fashion and gentlemen should so grossly belie their own knowledge, that had not I lived nor returned to have made answer to this fiction, yet all that knew us in Plymouth, and all that we had to deal withal, knew the contrary. For after I had stayed at the Isle of Wight divers days, the Thunder, commanded by Sir Warham Saintleger, by the negligence of her master, was at lee in the Thames; and after I arrived at Plymouth, captain Pennington was not come then to the Isle of Wight. And being arrived there, and not able to redeem his bread from the bakers, he rode back to London to entreat help from my wife to pay for it; who having not so much money to serve his turn, she wrote to Mr. Wood of Portsmouth, and gave him her word for £.30, which she soon after paid him, without which (as Pennington himself protested to my wife)

wife) he had not been able to have gone the journey. Sir John Ferne I found there without all hope of being able to proceed, having neither men nor money, and in great want of other provision; insomuch, as I furnished him, by my cousin Herbert, with £.100, having supplied himself in Wales with £.100, before his coming to Plymouth; and procured him a third £.100 from the worthy and honest dean of Exeter, Doctor Sutcliffe. Captain Whitney, whom I also stayed for, had a third part of his victuals to provide, insomuch, as having no money to help him withal, I sold my plate in Plymouth to supply him. Bayly I left at the Isle of Wight, whose arrival I also attended here some ten or twelve days, as I remember. And what should move Bayly to leave me as he did at the Canaries, from whence he might have departed with my love and leave, and at his return to do me all the wrong he could devise, I cannot conceive. He seemed to me from the beginning not to want anything. He only desired of me some ordnance, and some iron-bound cask, and I gave it him. I never gave him ill-language, nor offered him the least unkindness to my knowledge. It is true that I refused him a French shallop, which he took in the Bay of Portugal, outward bound; and yet after I had bought her of the French, and paid fifty crowns ready money for her, if Bayly had then desired her, he might have had her. But to take anything from the French, or from any other nation, I meant it not.

True it is, that as many things succeed both against reason and our best endeavours, so it is most commonly true, that men are the cause of their own misery, as I was of mine, when I undertook my late enterprise without a pardon. For all my company having heard it avowed in England before they went, that the commission I had, was granted to a man who was *non ens* in law, so that the want thereof took from me both arms and actions; it gave boldness to every petty companion to spread rumours to my defamation and the wounding of my reputation, in all places where I could not be present to make them knaves and liars.

It hath been secondly objected, that I put into Ireland, and spent much

much time there, taking care to revictual myself and none of the rest. Certainly I had no purpose to see Ireland when I left Plymouth. But being encountered with a strong storm some eight leagues to the westward of Scilly (in which captain Chidley's pinnace was sunk, and captain King thrust into Bristol) I held it the office of a commander of many ships, and those of divers sailings and conditions (of which some could hull and try, and some of them beat it up upon a tack, and others neither able to do the one nor the other) rather to take a port, and keep his fleet together, than either to endanger the loss of masts and yards, or to have it severed far asunder and to be thrust into divers places. For the attendance of meeting them again at the next rendezvous, would consume more time and victual (and perchance the weak ships might be set upon, taken, or disordered) than could be spent by recovering a harbour, and attending the next change of wind.

That the dissevering of fleets hath been the overthrow of many actions, I could give many examples, were it not in every man's knowledge. In the last enterprise of worth undertaken by our English nation, with three squadrons of ships commanded by the earl of Essex, the Earl of Suffolk and myself, where was also present the Earl of Southampton, if we, being storm-beaten in the Bay of Alcashar, or Biscay, had had a port under our lee, that we might have kept our transporting ships with our men of war, we had in all likelihood both taken the Indian fleet and the Azores.

That we staid long in Ireland it is true, but they must accuse the clouds and not me for our stay there, for I lost not a day of a good wind. There was not any captain of the fleet but had credit, or might have had, for a great deal of more victuals than we spent there, and yet they had of me fifty beeves among them, and somewhat else.

For the third accusation, that I landed in hostile manner at Lancerota; certainly captain Bayly had great want of matter when he gave that for an excuse of his turning back. For I refer myself to Mr. Barney, who I know will ever justify a truth, to whom (when he

he came to me from captain Bayly to know whether he should land his men with the rest) I made this answer, that he might land them if it pleased him, or otherwise keep them aboard; for I had agreed with the governor for a proportion of victual which I hourly expected. And it is true, that the governor being desirous to speak with me with one gentleman with him, with their rapiers only; which I accepting, and taking with me Lieutenant Bradshaw, we agreed, that I should send up an English factor (whose ship did then ride in the road) and that whatsoever the island could yield, should be delivered at a reasonable rate. I sent the English factor according to our agreement, but the governor put it off from one morning to another, and in the end sent me word, that except I would embark my men which lay on the sea-side, the islanders were so jealous as they durst not sever themselves to make our provisions. I did so; but when the one half were gotten aboard, two of our centinels were forced, one slain, and the English factor sent to tell me that he had nothing for us, whom he still believed to be a fleet of the Turks, who had lately taken and destroyed Puerto Sancto. Hereupon all the companies would have marched toward the town and have sacked it; but I knew it would not only dislike His Majesty, but that our merchants having a continual trade with those islands, that their goods would have been stayed, and among the rest, the poor Englishman riding in the road, having all that he brought thither ashore, would have been utterly undone.

Hereof I complained to the governor of the Grand Canaries, whom I also desired that we might take water without any disturbance. But instead of answer, when we landed some 100 men, far from any habitation and in a desert place of the island, where we found some fresh water there ambush was laid, and one Fisher of Sir John Ferne's ship wounded to death. And more had been slain had not Captain Thornhurst and Mr. Robert Hammon my son's lieutenant, two exceeding valiant gentlemen, who first made head against them, seconded by Sir Warham Saintleger and my son, with half a dozen more, made forty of them run away.

From

From hence, because there was scarcity of water, we sailed to Gomera, one of the strongest and best defenced places of all the islands, and the best port; the town being seated upon the very wash of the sea. At the first entrance of our ships, they shot at us, and ours at them. But as soon as I myself recovered the harbour and had commanded that there should be no more shooting, I sent a Spaniard ashore (taken in a bark which came from Cape Blanc) to tell the governor that I had no purpose to make war with any of the Spanish king's subjects, and if any harm were done by our great ordnance to the town, it was his fault, which by shooting first gave the occasion. He sent me for answer, that he thought we had been the Turkish fleet which destroyed Puerto Sancto; but being resolved by the messenger that we were Christians and English, and sought nothing but water, he would willingly afford us as much as we pleased to take, if he might be assured that we would not attempt his town-houses, nor destroy the gardens and fruits. I returned him answer, that I would give him my faith, and the word of the King of Great Britain, my Sovereign Lord, that the people of the town and island should not lose so much as one orange, or a grape, without paying for it. For if any man of mine should injure them, I would hang him up in the market-street. Now that I kept my faith with him, and how much he held himself bound unto me, I have divers of his letters to shew, for he wrote unto me every day. And the countess being of an English race (a Stafford by mother, and of the house of Horn by the father,) sent me divers presents of fruits, sugar, and rusk; to whom I returned (because I would not depart in her debt) things of greater value. The old earl at my departure, wrote a letter to the Spanish ambassador here in England, how I behaved myself in those islands. There I discharged a bark of the Grand Canaries, taken by one of my pinnaces coming from Cape Blanc in Africa; and demanding of him what prejudice he had received by being taken, he told me that my men had eaten of his fish to the value of six ducats, for which I gave him eight.

From the Canaries, it is said, that I sailed to Cape de Verd, knowing it to be an infectious place; by reason whereof, I lost so

many of my men ere I recovered the Indies. The truth is, that I came no nearer to Cape de Verd than Bravo, which is 150 leagues off. But had I taken it in my way, falling upon the coast, or any other part of Guiana, after the rains, there is as little danger of infection, as in any other part of the world, as our English that trade in those parts every year do well know. There are few places in England, or in the world, near great rivers which run through low grounds, or near moorish or marsh grounds, but the people inhabiting near are at some time of the year subject to fevers. Witness Woolwich in Kent, and all down the river on both sides. Other Infection there is not found either in the Indies or in Africa, except it be when the easterly wind or breezes are kept off by some high mountains from the vallies, whereby the air, wanting motion, doth become exceeding unhealthful, as at Nombre de Dios, and elsewhere.

But as good success admits no examination, so the contrary allows of no excuse, how reasonable or just soever. Sir Francis Drake, Mr. John Winter and John Thomas, when they passed the Streights of Magellan, met with a storm, which drove Winter back, which thrust John Thomas upon the islands to the south, where he was cast away, and drove Sir Francis near a small island upon which the Spaniards landed their thieves and murderers from Baldivia. And he found there Philip an Indian, who told him where he was, and conducted him to Baldivia, where he took his first prize of treasure. And in that ship he found a pilot called John Grege, who guided him all that coast, in which he possessed himself of the rest. Which pilot, because he should not rob him of his reputation and knowledge in those parts (resisting the intreaties and tears of all his company) he set him ashore upon the island of Aegulus, that is, Alligator, to be by them devoured. After which, passing by the East Indies, he returned into England; and notwithstanding the peace between us and Spain, he enjoyed the riches he brought, and was never so much as called to an account for cutting-off Doughty's head at Port St. Julian, having neither martial law nor other commission available. Mr. Cavendish having passed all the coasts of Chili and Peru and not gotten a farthing,

thing, when he was without hope and ready to shape his course by the East homeward, met a ship which came from the Philippines at California, a thousand pounds to a nutshell. These two in these two voyages were the children of fortune and much honoured. But when Sir Francis Drake in his last attempt might have landed at Cruces, by the river of Chyagre within eight miles of Panama, he notwithstanding set the troops on land at Nombre de Dios, and received the repulse aforesaid and died for sorrow. The same success had Cavendish in his last passage toward the Streights. I say that one and the same end they both had, *viz.* Drake and Cavendish, when chance had left them to the trial of their own virtues.

For the rest, I leave to all worthy and indifferent men to judge, by what neglect or error of mine, the gold mine in Guiana, which I had formerly discovered, was not found and enjoyed. For after we had refreshed ourselves in Caliana (otherwise in the first discovery called Port Howard) where we buried Captain Hastings, Captain Piggot, and Captain Snedale, and there recovered the most part of our sick men, I did embark six companies, of fifty to each company, in five ships; *viz.* in the Encounter, commanded by Captain Whitney; in the Confidence, by Captain Wolaston; in two fly-boats of my own, commanded by Captain Samuel King, and Captain Robert Smith; and in a carvel. Which companies had for their leaders Captain Charles Parker, Captain North, my son, Captain Thornhurst, Captain Pennington's Lieutenant Bradshaw, and Captain Chidley's Lieutenant Prideux.

At the Triangle Island I embarked the companies for Oroonoko, between which and Caliana I lay a-ground 24 hours; and if it had not been fair weather we had never come-off the coast, having not above two fathom and a half of water. Eight leagues off from whence, I directed them for the river of Surinama, the best port of all that tract of land between the river Amazones and Oroonoko. There I gave them order to trim their boats and barges; and by the Indians of that place to understand the state of the Spaniards in Oroonoko, and whether they had replanted or strengthened themselves upon the entrances or elsewhere. And if they found no In-

dians there, to send in the little fly-boat or the carvel, into the river of Dissebecke, where they should not fail to find pilots for Oroonoko. For with our great ships we durst not approach the coast, we having been all of us a-ground and in danger of leaving our bones upon the shoals, before we recovered the Triangle Island as aforesaid. The biggest ship that could enter the river was the Encounter, who might be brought to eleven feet. The depth of the water upon the bar we could never understand, neither by Keymis, who was the first of any of our nation that had entered the main mouth of Oroonoko, nor by any other of the masters or mariners of our fleet, which had traded there ten or twelve years for tobacco. For the Chudley, when she came near the entrance, drawing but twelve feet, found herself in danger and bore up for Trinidado.

Now, whereas some of my friends have been unsatisfied why I myself had not gone up with the companies I sent, I desire hereby to give them satisfaction. That beside my want of health and strength (having not recovered my long and dangerous sickness, but was again fallen into a relapse) my ship shoaled and laid a-ground at 17 feet water seven leagues off the shore, so as the master nor any of my company durst adventure to come near it, much less to fall between the shoals on the south side of the river's side and sands on the north side called Puncto Anegado, one of the most dangerous places in all the Indies. It was therefore resolved by us all, that the five greater ships should ride at Puncto Gallo in Trinidado, and the five lesser should enter the river. For if Whitney and Wolaston at eleven feet lay a-ground three days in passing-up, in what case had I been which drew seventeen feet, a heavier ship and charged with forty pieces of ordnance? Beside this impossibility, neither would my son, nor the rest of the captains and gentlemen have adventured themselves up the river, (having but one month's victuals, and being thrust together 100 of them in a small fly-boat) had not I assured them that I would stay for them at Trinidado, and that no force should drive me thence except I were sunk in the sea or set on fire by the Spanish galleons. For that they would have adven-

tured

tured themselves upon any other man's word or resolution, it were ridiculous to believe.

Having in this sort resolved upon our enterprise, and having given instructions, how they should proceed before and after their entrance into Oroonoko, Keymis having undertaken to discover the mine with six or eight persons in Sir John Ferne's shallop, I better bethinking myself, and misliking his determination, gave him this order, *viz.*

" KEYMIS,

" Whereas you were resolved after your arrival into Oroonoko to pass to the mine with my cousin Herbert and six musketeers, and to that end you desired to have Sir John Ferne's shallop, I do not allow of that course, because you cannot land so secretly but that some Indians on the river-side may discover you; who giving knowledge of your passage to the Spaniards, you may be cut-off before you can recover your boat. I do therefore advise you to suffer the captains and the companies of the English to pass up to the westward of the mountain Aio, from whence you have no less than three miles to the mine; and to lodge and encamp between the Spanish town and you, if there be any town near it; that being so secured, you may make trial what depth and breadth the mine holds, and whether or no it answer our hopes. And if you find it royal and the Spaniards begin to war upon you, then let the serjeant-major repel them if it be in his power, and drive them as far as he can. But if you find that the mine be not so rich as it may persuade the holding of it, and draw on a second supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two to satisfy His Majesty that my design was not imaginatory but true, though not answerable to His Majesty's expectation for the quantity, of which I never gave assurance, nor could.

On the other side, if you shall find that any number of soldiers be newly sent into Oroonoko, as the Cassique of Caliana told us that there were, and that the passages be already fenced; so that without manifest peril of my son, yourself, and other captains, you

cannot

cannot pass toward the mine, then be well advised how you land. For I know (a few gentlemen excepted) what a scum of men you have; and I would not for all the world receive a blow from the Spaniard to the dishonour of our nation. I myself for my weakness cannot be present, neither will the company land except I stay with the ships, the galleons of Spain being daily expected. Piggot the serjeant-major is dead; Sir Warham my lieutenant without hope of life; and my nephew, your serjeant-major now, but a young man. It is therefore on your judgment that I rely, whom I trust God will direct for the best.

Let me hear from you as soon as you can. You shall find me at Puncto Gallo, dead or alive; and if you find not my ships there, yet you shall find their ashes. For I will fire with the galleons if it come to extremity, but run-away I will never."

That these my instructions were not followed, was not my fault. But it seems that the serjeant-major, Keymis and the rest, were by accident forced to change their first resolution; and that finding a Spanish town, or rather a village, set-up twenty miles distant from the place where Antonio Berreo (the first governor by me taken in my first discovery) had attempted to plant, *viz.* some two leagues to the westward of the mine, they agreed to land and encamp between the mine and the town, which they did not suspect to be so near them as it was. And meaning to rest themselves on the river's side till the next day, they were in the night set upon and charged by the Spaniards; which being unlooked for, the common sort of them were so amazed, as had not the captains and some other valiant gentlemen made a-head and encouraged the rest, they had all been broken and cut in pieces. To repel this force, putting themselves in order, they charged the Spaniards, and following them upon their retreat, they were ready to enter the town ere they knew where they were. And being then charged again by the governor and four or five captains

which

which led their companies, my son not tarrying for any musketeers ran up in the head of a company of pikes, where he was first shot; and pressing upon a Spanish captain called Erinetta with his sword, Erinetta, taking the small end of his musket in his hand, struck him on the head with the stock and felled him. Whom again John Plessington, my son's serjeant, thrust through with his halbert. At which time also the Governor Diego Palameca and the rest of the Spanish captains being slain, and their companies divided, they betook themselves into a house or hold adjoining to the market-place, whence with their murderers and muskets (the houses having loop-holes cut-out toward the market-place) they slew and wounded the English at their pleasure. So as they had no way to save themselves but by firing those houses adjoining, which done, all the Spaniards ran into the bordering woods and hills, keeping the English still waking with perpetual alarms.

The town, such as it was, being in this sort possessed, Keymis prepared to discover the mine; which at this time he was resolved to do, as appeareth by his letter to me of his own hand-writing hereafter inserted. He took with him Captain Thornhurst, Mr. William Herbert, Sir John Hambden, and others. But at his first approach near the bank where he meant to land, he received from the wood a volley of shot, which slew two of his company, hurt six others, and wounded Captain Thornhurst in the head, of the which he languished three months after.

KEYMIS' *Letter, dated January 8th, from Oroonoko.*

"ALL things that appertain to human condition, in that proper nature and sense that of fate and necessity belongeth unto them, being now over with your son, maketh me chuse rather with grief to let you know from me the certain truth, than uncertainties from others. Which is, *viz.* that had not his extraordinary valour and forwardness (which with constant vigour of mind, being in the hands of death, his last breath expressed in these words, *Lord have*

mercy

mercy upon me, and prosper your enterprise) led them all on, when some began to pause and recoil shamefully, this action had neither been attempted as it was, nor performed as it is, with this surviving honour.

This Indian pilot whom I have sent, if there be occasion to use his service in anything, will prove sufficient and trusty. Peter Andrews, whom I have sent with him, can better certify Your Lordship of the state of the town, the plenty, the condition of our men, *&c.* than I can write the same.

We have the governor's servant prisoner, that waited on him in his bed-chamber and knows all things that concerned his master. We find there are four refiners' houses in the town; the best houses of the town. I have not seen one piece of coin or bullion, neither gold or silver; a small deal of plate only excepted.

Captain Whitney and Wolaston are but now come to us, and now I purpose (God willing) without delay to visit the mine, which is not eight miles from the town. Sooner I could not go by reason of the murmurings, the discords and vexations, wherewith the serjeant-major is perpetually tormented and tired, having no man to assist him but myself only. Things are now in some reasonable order, and so soon as I have made trial of the mine, I will seek to come to Your Lordship by the way of the river Macario; by which river I have appointed Peter Andrews to go and to search the channels, that if it be possible our ships may shorten the course for Trinidado, when time serves, by those passages. I have sent Your Lordship a parcel of scattered papers (I reserve a cart-load) one roll of tobacco, one tortoise, and some oranges and lemons. Praying God to give you strength and health of body, and a mind armed against all extremities, I rest ever to be commanded, this 8th of January, 1617-18.

Your Lordship's,

KEYMIS."

Now it seemeth that the death of my son, fearing also (as he told me when he came to Trinidado) that I was either dead of my first sickness, or that the news of my son's death would have hastened my end, made him resolve not to open the mine. To the which he added for excuse (and I think it was true,) that the Spaniards being gone-off in a whole body, lay in the woods between the mine and their passage; and it was impossible, except they had been beaten out of the country, to pass up the woody and craggy hills, without the loss of those commanders which should have led them; who had they been slain, the rest would easily enough have been cut in pieces in their retreat. For being in possession of the town, which they guarded with the greatest part of three companies, they had yet their hands full to defend themselves from firing, and the daily and nightly alarms wherewith they were vexed. He also gave for an excuse that it was impossible to lodge any companies at the mine, for want of victual, which from the town they were not able to carry up the mountains, their companies being divided. He therefore, as he told me, thinking it a greater error to discover it to the Spaniards, themselves neither being able to work it nor possess it, than to excuse himself to the company, said that he could not find it.

All which his fancies when I rejected, and before divers of the gentlemen disavowed his ignorance; (for I told him that a blind man might find it, by the marks which himself had set down under his hand; then I told him that his care of losing so many men in passing through the woods was but feigned, for after my son was slain I knew that he had no care at all of any man surviving; and therefore had he brought to the king but one hundred-weight of the ore though with the loss of 100 men, he had given His Majesty satisfaction, preserved my reputation, and given our nation encouragement to have returned this next year with greater force, and to have held the country for His Majesty, to whom it belongeth; and of which himself had given the testimony, that beside the excellent air, pleasantness, healthfulness and riches, it hath plenty of corn, fruits, fish, fowl wild and tame, beeves, horses, sheep, hogs, deers, conies, hares, tortoises, ar-

madiles, wanaes, oils, honey, wax, potatoes, sugar-canes, medicaments, balsamum, simples, gums, and what not; but seeing he had followed his own advice and not mine, I should be forced to leave him to the arguments, with the which if he could satisfy His Majesty and the state, I should be glad of it; though for my part he must excuse me to justify it, that he, if it had pleased him, though with some loss of men, might have gone directly to the place;) with that he seemed greatly discontent, and so he continued divers days.

Afterward he came to me in my cabin, and shewed me a letter which he had written to the Earl of Arundel, to whom he excused himself for not discovering of the mine, using the same arguments and many others which he had done before, and prayed me to allow of his apology. But I told him that he had undone me by his obstinacy, and that I would not favour or colour in any sort his former folly. He then asked me whether that were my resolution, I answered that it was. He then replied in these words, *I know not then, Sir, what course to take,* and went out of my cabin into his own, in which he was no sooner entered but I heard a pistol go off. I sent up (not suspecting any such thing as the killing of himself) to know who shot a pistol. Keymis himself made answer, lying on his bed, that he had shot it off because it had been long charged, with which I was satisfied. Some half hour after this, the boy going into his cabin found him dead, having a long knife thrust under his left pap through his heart and his pistol lying by him, with which it appeared that he had shot himself; but the bullet, lighting upon a rib, had but broken the rib, and went no farther.

Now he that knew Keymis, did also know that he was of that obstinate resolution, and a man so far from caring to please or satisfy any man but himself, as no man's opinion from the greatest to the least, could have persuaded him to have laid violent hands on himself. Neither would he have done it when he did it, could he have said unto me that he was ignorant of that place and knew no such mine; for what cause had I then to have rejected his excuses, or to have laid his obstinacy to his charge? Thus much I have added, because

because there are some puppies which have given it out, that Keymis slew himself because he had seduced so many gentlemen and others with an imaginary mine. But as his letter to me the 8th of January proves that he was then resolved to open it, so to take off all these kinds of objections, let Captain Charles Parker, Captain George Ralegh and Captain King, all living and in England, be put to their oaths, whether or no Keymis did not confess to them coming down the river, at a place where they cast anchor, that he could from that place have gone to the mine in two hours. I say then that if the opening of the mine had been at that time to any purpose, or had they had any victuals left then to bring them away, or had they not been hastened by seeing the king of Spain's letters before they came to my hands which I am assured Keymis had seen, who delivered them to me (whereof one of them was dated at Madrid the 19th of March before I left the river Thames, and with it three other dispatches; with a commission for the strengthening of Oroonoko with 150 soldiers, which should have come down the river from the new kingdom of Granada, and other 150 from Portorico, with ten pieces of ordnance, which should have come up the river from the entrance, by which two troops they might have been inclosed) I say, had not the rest seen those dispatches, and that having stayed in the river above two months they feared the hourly arrival of those forces, why had they not constrained Keymis to have brought them to the mine, being, as himself confesses, within two hours march?

Again, had the companies' commanders but pinched the governor's man whom they had in their possession, he could have told them of two or three gold mines and a silver mine, not above four miles from the town, and given them the names of their possessors, with the reason why they forbore to work them at that time, and when they left off from working them. Which they did as well because they wanted victuals, as because they feared lest the English, French, or Dutch [illegible] have forced them from those being once thoroughly [illegible] not sufficient strength to defend themselves. But to [illegible]rd it said since my return, that the governor's man

was by me persuaded, being in my power, to say that such mines there were, when indeed there was no such thing. Certainly they were, but silly fools that discovered this subtilty of mine, who having not yet by the long calenture that weakened me lost all my wits; which I must have done if I had left my reputation in trust with a mulatto, who for a pot or two of wine, for a dozen of hatchets, or a gay suit of apparel, would have confessed that I had taught him to speak of mines that were not in *rerum natura*. No, I protest before the majesty of God, that without any other arguments or promise of mine than well usage, he hath discovered to me the way to five or six of the richest mines which the Spaniard hath, and whence all the mass of gold that comes into Spain in effect is drawn.

Lastly, when the ships were come down the river, as far as Carapana's country (who was one of the natural lords and one that reserved that part of Guiana to Her Majesty) hearing that the English had abandoned St. Thome and left no force in the country which he hoped they would have done, he sent a great canoe with store of fruits and provisions to the captains, and by one of his men which spake Spanish (having as it seemed been long in their hands) he offered them a rich gold mine in his own country, knowing it to be the best argument to persuade their stay. And if it pleased them to send up any one of the English to view it, he would leave sufficient pledges for his safe return. Mr. Leake, Mr. Moleneux, and others offering themselves, which when the greater part refused (I know not by what reason led) he sent again (leaving one of his men still aboard) to entreat them to tarry but two days, and he himself would come to them and bring them a sample of the ore; for he was an exceeding old man when I was first in the country some 24 years since. Which being also neglected and the ships under sail, he notwithstanding sent a boat after them to the very mouth of the river, in hope to persuade them. That this is true, witness Captain Parker, Captain Leake, Mr. Stresham, Mr. Maudict, Mr. Moleneux, Mr. Robert Hammon, Mr. Nicholes, Captain King, Peter Andrews, and I know not how many others.

But

But to set aside his offer also, there hath not been wanting an argument, though a foolish one; which was, that the Spaniards had employed the Indians with a purpose to betray our men. But this treason had been easily prevented if they had stayed the old man's coming, who would have brought them the gold ore aboard their ships; and what purpose could there be of treason when the Guianians offered to leave pledges six for one? Yea, one of the Indians which the English had aboard them, whom they found in fetters when they took the town of St. Thome, could have told them, that the cassique which sent unto them to show them the gold mine in his country, was unconquered and an enemy to the Spaniard; and could also have assured them, that this cassique had gold mines in his country.

I say then, that if they would neither force Keymis to go to the mine when he was by his own confession within two hours march of it, to examine from whence these two ingots of gold which they brought me were taken (which they found laid by for king's *quinto* or fifth part) or those small pieces of silver, which had the same marks and stamps; if they refused to send any one of the fleet into the country to see the mines which the cassique Carapana offered them; if they would not vouchsafe to stay two days for the coming of Carapana himself, who would have brought them a sample of the gold ore; I say that there is no reason to lay it to my charge that I carried them with a pretence of gold, when neither Keymis nor myself knew of any in those parts. If it had been to have gotten my liberty, why did I not keep my liberty when I had it? Nay, why did I put my life in manifest peril to forego it? If I had had a purpose to have turned pirate, why did I oppose myself against the greatest number of my company, and was thereby in danger to be slain or cast into the sea because I refused it?

A strange fancy had it been in me to have persuaded my son whom I have lost, and to have persuaded my wife to have adventured the [illegible] which His Majesty gave them for Sherborne, and when that [illegible] to persuade my wife to sell her house at Mitcham, in hope

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of enriching them by the mines of Guiana, if I myself had not seen them with my own eyes. For, being old and weakly, thirteen years in prison and not used to the air, to travel, and to watching, it being ten to one that I should ever have returned, and of which by reason of my violent sickness and the long continuance thereof no man had any hope, what madness could have made me undertake this journey, but the assurance of the mine; thereby to have done His Majesty service, to have bettered my country by the trade, and to have restored my wife and children their estates they had lost, for which I have refused all other ways or means? For that I had no purpose to have changed my master and my country, my return in the state I did return, may satisfy every honest and indifferent man.

An unfortunate man I am, and it is to me a greater loss than all I have lost, that it pleaseth His Majesty to be offended for the burning of a Spanish town in Guiana. Of which these parts bordering the river of Oroonoko, and to the south as far as the Amazones, doth by the law of nations belong to the crown of England, as His Majesty was well resolved when it pleased him to grant part thereof to Mr. Harcourt, or else His Majesty would not have given me leave to have landed there. For I set it down under my hand that I intended that enterprise, and nothing else; and that I meant to enter the country by the river Oroonoko, it was not held to be a breach of peace neither by the state here nor the Spanish ambassador, who knew it as well as I that I pretended the journey of Guiana, which he always held to be a pretence. For he said it to Mr. Secretary Winwood, and to others of My Lords, that if I meant to sail to Guiana and had no intent to invade any part of his master's West Indies nor his fleets, I should not need to strengthen myself as I did, for I should work any mine there without any disturbance and in peace. To which I made answer, that I had set it under my hand to His Majesty that I had no other purpose, nor meant to undertake anything else. But for the rest, if Sir John Hawkins in his journey to St. John de Loa (notwithstanding that he had leave of the Spanish king to trade in all parts of the West Indies, and having the plate fleet in his power

did

did not take out of it one ounce of silver, but kept his faith and promise in all places) was set upon by Don Henrico de Martines, whom he suffered (to save him from perishing) to enter the port upon Martines' faith and interchanged pledges delivered, had the Jesus of Lubec, a ship of Her Majesty's of 1000 tons burnt, had his men slain which he left on the land, lost his ordnance and all the treasure which he had got by trade: what reason had I to go unarmed upon the ambassador's promises? Whose words and thoughts that they were not one it hath well appeared since then, as well by the forces which he persuaded his master to send to Guiana to encounter me and cut me off there, as by his persecuting me since my return; who have neither invaded his master's Indies nor his fleet, whereof he stood in doubt.

True it is, that the Spaniards cannot endure that the English nation should look upon any part of America, being above a fourth part of the whole known world and the hundredth part neither possessed by the Spaniards, nor to them known; as Acosta the Jesuit, in his description of the West-Indies, doth confess and is well known to be true. No, the king of Spain can pretend no other title to all that he hath not conquered than the Pope's donation. For from the Straits of Magellan to the river of Plata, being a greater territory than all that the Spaniards possess in Peru or Chili, and from Cape St. Augustine to Trinidado, being a greater exent of land than all which he possesses in New Spain or elsewhere, they have not one foot of ground in their possession, neither, for the greatest part of it, so much as in their own knowledge.

In Oroonoko they have lately set up a wooden town and made a kind of a fort, but they have never been able either to conquer the Guianians nor to reconcile them. But the Guianians before their planting there did willingly resign all that territory to Her Majesty, who by me promised to receive them and defend them against the Spaniard. And though I were a prisoner for this last fourteen years, yet I was at the charge every year or every second year, to send unto them to keep them in hope of being relieved. And, as I have said before, the greatest of the natural lords did offer us a rich mine of gold

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in his own country in hope to hold us there. And if this usurped possession of the Spaniard be a sufficient bar to His Majesty's right and, that thereby the King of Spain calls himself King of Guiana, why might he not as well call himself Duke of Britany because he took possession of Blavet and built a fort there, and call himself King of Ireland because he took possession at Smerwic and built a fort there?

If the ambassador had protested to His Majesty that my going to Guiana before I went would be a breach to the peace, I am persuaded that His Majesty if he had not been resolved that Guiana had been his, would have stayed me. But if it be now thought to be a breach of peace not for the going thither (for that cannot be because I had no other intent and went with leave) but for taking and burning of a Spanish town in the country, certainly, if the country be the king of Spain's it had been no less a breach of peace to have wrought any mine of his and to have robbed him of his gold, than it is now called a breach of peace to take a town of his in Guiana and burn it. And with as good reason might I have been called a thief and a robber, and have been punished for a thief and robber of the King of Spain, if the country be not His Majesty's, as I am now pursued for the invasion. For either the country is the king of Spain's or the king's. If it be the king's, I have not then offended; if it be not the king's, I must have perished if I had but taken gold out of the mines there, though I had found no Spaniards in the country.

For conclusion; if we had had any peace with the Spaniards in those parts of the world, did even those Spaniards which were now encountered in Guiana, tie 36 Englishmen out of Mr. Hall's ship of London and mine back to back, and cut their throats, after they had traded with them a whole month and came to them ashore, having not so much as a sword or any other weapon among them all? And if the Spaniard to our complaints made answer, that there was nothing in the treaty against our trading in the Indies, but that we might trade at our peril, I trust in God that the word peril shall ever be construed to be indifferent to both nations; otherwise we must for-

ever

ever abandon the Indies, and lose all our knowledge and our pilotage of that part of the world. If we have no other peace than this, how can there be a breach of peace? Since the Spaniards with all nations, and all nations with them, may trade upon their guard. For, to break peace where there is no peace is impossible.

The readiest way that the Spanish ambassador could have taken to have stayed me from going to Guiana, had been to have discovered the great practices which I had with his master against the king my Sovereign Lord in the first year of His Majesty's reign of Great Britain, for which I lost my estate and lay thirteen years in the Tower of London. And not to urge my offences in Guiana to which his master hath no title other than his sword, with which to this day he hath not conquered the least of those nations, and against whom, contrary to the Catholic profession, his captains have entertained and do entertain whole nations of cannibals. For in a letter of the governor's to the King of Spain of July 8th, he not only complaineth that the Guianians are in arms against him, but that even those Indians which under their noses live do, in despight of all the king's edicts, trade with Los Flamingos & Angleses Enemigos, with the Flemish and English enemies; never once naming the English nation but with the epithet of an enemy.

But in truth the Spanish ambassador hath complained against me to no other end, than to prevent my complaints against the Spaniards; when, landing my men in a territory appertaining to the crown of England, they were invaded and slain before any violence offered to the Spaniards. And I hope that the ambassador doth not esteem us for so wretched and miserable a people, as to offer our throats to their swords without any manner of resistance.

Howsoever, I have said it already, and I will say it again, that if Guiana be not His Majesty's, the working of a mine there and the taking of a town there, had been equally perilous to me. For by doing the one, I had robbed the King of Spain and been a thief; and by the other, a disturber or breaker of the peace."

The Address to Lord CAREW.

" BECAUSE I know not whether I shall live to come before the lords, I have for His Majesty's satisfaction here set down as much as I can say, either for mine own defence or against myself, as things are now construed.

It is true, that though I acquainted His Majesty with my intent to land in Guiana, yet I never made it known to His Majesty that the Spaniards had any footing there. Neither had I any authority by patent to remove them from thence, and therefore His Majesty had no interest in the attempt of Saint Thome by any foreknowledge in His Majesty.

But knowing His Majesty's title to the country to be best and most Christian, because the natural lords did most willingly acknowledge Queen Elizabeth to be their sovereign, who by me promised to defend them from the Spanish cruelty, I made no doubt but I might enter the land by force, seeing the Spaniards had no other title but force (the Pope's donation excepted) considering also that they had got a possession there divers years since my possession for the crown of England. For were not Guiana His Majesty's, then might I as well have been questioned for a thief for taking the gold out of the king of Spain's mines, as the Spaniards do now call me a peace-breaker. For, from any territory that belongs to the king of Spain, it is no more lawful to take gold, than lawful for the Spaniards to take tin out of Cornwall. Were this possession of theirs a sufficient bar to His Majesty's right, the kings of Spain may as well call themselves dukes of Britany, because they held Blavet and fortified there, and kings of Ireland, because they possessed Smerwic and fortified there, and so in other places.

That His Majesty was well resolved of his right there, I make no kind of doubt, because the English both under Mr. Charles Leigh and Mr. Harcourt had leave to plant and inhabit the country. The Oroonoko itself had long ere this had 5000 English in it, I assure myself, had not my employment at Cales the next year after

my

my return from Guiana, and after that our journey to the islands, hindered me for those two years. After which Tyrone's rebellion made Her Majesty unwilling that any great number of ships or men should be taken out of England, till that rebellion were ended. And lastly, Her Majesty's death and my long imprisonment, gave time to the Spaniards to set up a town of sticks covered with leaves of trees upon the bank of Oroonoko, which they call St. Thome. But they have neither reconciled nor conquered any of the cassiques or natural lords of the country, which cassiques are still in arms against them, as by the governor's letter to the king of Spain may appear.

That by landing in Guiana there can be any breach of peace, I think it (under favour) impossible; for, to break peace where there is no peace, it cannot be. That the Spaniards give us no peace there, it doth appear, by the king's letters to the governor that they should put to death all those Spaniards and Indians that trade *con los Angleses enemigos*, with English enemies. Yea, those very Spaniards which we encountered at St. Thome, did of late years murder 36 of Mr. Hale's men of London, and mine, who landed without weapon upon the Spaniard's faith to trade with them. Mr. Thorne also in Tower-street in London, beside many other English, were in like sort murdered in Oroonoke the year before my delivery out of the Tower. Now if this kind of trade be peaceable, there is then a peaceable trade in the Indies between us and the Spaniards. But if this be cruel war and hatred and no peace, then there is no peace broken by our attempt.

Again, how doth it stand with the greatness of the king of Spain, first to call us enemies, when he did hope to cut us in pieces, and then, having failed, to call us peace-breakers. For to be an enemy and a peace-breaker in one and the same action is impossible. But the king of Spain in his letter to the governor of Guiana, dated at Madrid March 19th, before we left the Thames, calls us, *Angleses enemigos*, English enemies. If it had pleased the king of Spain to have written to His Majesty in seven months time, (for we were so long in preparing) and have made His Majesty know that our landing

in Guiana would draw after it a breach of peace, I presume to think that His Majesty would have staid our enterprise for the present. This he might have done with less charge, than to levy 300 soldiers, and transport ten pieces of ordnance from Portorico, which soldiers added to the garrison of St. Thome, had they arrived before our coming, had overthrown all our raw companies and there would have followed no complaints.

For the main point of landing near St. Thome, it is true that we were of opinion, that we must have driven the Spaniards out of the town before we could pass the thick woods upon the mountains to the mine. Which I confess I did first resolve upon, but better bethinking myself, I referred the taking of the town to the goodness of the mine. Which if they found to be so rich, as it might persuade the leaving of the garrison, then to drive the Spaniards thence; but to have burnt was never my intent, neither could they give me any reason why they did. Upon their return, I examined the serjeant-major and Keymis why they followed not my last directions for the trial of the mine before the taking of the town; and they answered me, that although they durst hardly go to the mine, leaving a garrison of Spaniards between them and their boats, yet they offended their latter directions, and did land between the town and the mine. And that the Spaniards without any manner of parley set upon them unawares, and charged them, calling them *Perros Angleses*, and by skirmishing with them, they drew them on to the very entrance of the town before they knew where they were. So that if any peace had been in those parts, the Spaniards first brake the peace and made the first slaughter. For as the English could not but land to seek the mine, being come thither to that end, so, being first reviled and charged by the Spaniards, they could do no less than repel force by force.

Lastly, it is a matter of no small consequence to acknowledge that we have offended the king of Spain by landing in Guiana. For first, it weakens His Majesty's title to the country, or quits it. Secondly,

condly, there is no king that hath ever given the least way to any other king or state in the traffic of the lives or goods of his subjects; *viz.* in our case, that it shall be lawful for the Spaniards to murder us, either by force or treason, and unlawful for us to defend ourselves and pay them with their own coin. For this superiority and inferiority is a thing which no absolute monarch ever yielded to, or ever will. Thirdly, it shews the English bears greater respect to the Spaniard, and is more doubtful of his forces, than either the French or Dutch is, who daily invade all parts of the Indies without being questioned at their return. Yea, at my own being at Plymouth, a French gentleman called Flory, went thence with four sail and 300 landmen, with commission to land and burn and to sack all places in the Indies that he could master, and yet the French King hath married the daughter of Spain.

This is all that I can say, other than that I have spent my poor estate, lost my son and my health, and endured as many sorts of miseries, as ever man did, in hope to do His Majesty acceptable service; and have not to my understanding committed any hostile act, other than entrance upon a territory belonging rightly to the crown of England, where the English were first set upon and slain by the usurping Spaniards. I invaded no other parts of the Indies, pretended to by the Spaniards.

"I returned into England with manifest peril of my life, with a purpose not to hold my life with any other than His Majesty's grace, and from which no man nor any peril could dissuade me. To that grace and goodness and kingliness I refer myself, which, if it shall find that I have not yet suffered enough, it yet may please to add more affliction to the remainder of a wretched life [22]."

[22] The Apology appears to have been first published with Sir Walter's Essays, in 1650. It has been reprinted with the Abridgement of his History of the World, and in Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh (II. 249.); but, even in this last instance, with unpardonable negligence. A good old MS. copy or two of it is to be found in Sir Hans Sloane's Collection, and a very good one was presented to the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, by the Rev. T. Baker. An attempt to restore the sense is made in the present edition.

CHAP. X.

AMONG Howell's Familiar Letters is one to Sir James Crofts in 1618, when as he informs us he was *a youth about the town*, which gives a juster picture than any piece that I am acquainted with, of the sentiments prevailing with the public (ever too apt to judge of actions by the event) on hearing the first news of the failure of Sir Walter's expedition. This letter appears to have drawn a remonstrance many years after the knight's death from his son Carew, addressed privately to Howell; and the latter having probably, with others, improved his judgment of the matter in his riper years, wrote him an exculpatory answer which was published in a subsequent edition of the Letters. As they afford information, and are not unentertaining, both letters are here presented to the reader:

JAMES HOWELL, *Esq. to Sir* JAMES CROFTS, *Knight, at St. Osith.*

"SIR,

Howell's two Letters.

"I COULD not shake hands with England, without kissing your hands also; and because, in regard of your distance now from London, I cannot do it in person, I send this paper for my deputy.

The news that keeps greatest noise here now, is the return of Sir Walter Ralegh from his mine of gold in Guiana, the south parts of America, which at first was like to be such a hopeful boon voyage, but it seems that that golden mine is proved a mere chimera, an imaginary airy mine; and indeed His Majesty had never any other conceit of it. But what will not one in captivity (as Sir Walter was) promise, to regain his freedom? Who would not promise, not only mines,

mines, but mountains of gold, for liberty? And it is pity such a knowing well-weighed knight had not had a better fortune. For the Destiny (I mean that brave ship which he built himself of that name, that carried him thither) is like to prove a fatal destiny to him, and to some of the rest of those gallant adventurers which contributed for the setting forth of thirteen ships more, who were most of them his kinsmen and younger brothers, being led into the said expedition by a general conceit the world had of the wisdom of Sir Walter Ralegh; and many of these are like to make shipwreck of their estates th is voyage. Sir Walter landed at Plymouth, whence he thought to make an escape; and some say he hath tampered with his body by physic, to make him look sickly, that he may be the more pitied, and permitted to lie in his own house. Count Gondomar the Spanish ambassador speaks high language; and sending lately to desire audience of His Majesty, he said he had but one word to tell him. His Majesty wondering what might be delivered in one word; when he came before him, he said only, *pirates, pirates, pirates*, and so departed.

It is true that he protested against this voyage before, and that it could not be but for some predatory design. And that if it be as I hear, I fear it will go very ill with Sir Walter; and that Gondomar will never give him over, till he hath his head off his shoulders. Which may quickly be done without any new arraignment, by virtue of the old sentence that lies still dormant against him, which he could never get off by pardon, notwithstanding that he mainly laboured in it before he went. But His Majesty could never be brought to it, for he said he would keep this as a curb, to hold him within the bounds of his commission, and the good behaviour.

Gondomar cries out, that he hath broke the sacred peace betwixt the two kingdoms. That he hath fired and plundered Santo Thoma, a colony the Spaniards had planted with so much blood, near under the line, which made it prove such hot service unto him, and where, beside others, he lost his eldest son in the action. And could they have preserved the magazine of tobacco only, beside other things in

that

that town, something might have been had to countervail the charge of the voyage. Gondomar alledgeth farther, that the enterprise of the mine failing, he propounded to the rest of his fleet to go and intercept some of the plate galeons, with other designs which would have drawn after them apparent acts of hostility, and so demands justice. Beside other disasters which fell out upon the dashing of the first design, Captain Keymis, who was the main instrument for discovery of the mine, pistoled himself in a desperate mood of discontent in his cabin, in the Convertine.

This return of Sir Walter Ralegh from Guiana, puts me in mind of a facetious tale I read lately in Italian (for I have a little of that language already) how Alphonso king of Naples sent a Moor, who had been his captive a long time, to Barbary, with a considerable sum of money to buy horses, and return by such a time. Now there was about the king a kind of buffoon or jester, who had a table-book or journal, wherein he was used to register any absurdity, or impertinence, or merry passage, that happened about the court. That day the Moor was dispatched for Barbary, the said jester waiting upon the king at supper, the king called for his journal, and asked what he had observed that day. Thereupon he produced his table-book, and among other things, he read how Alphonso king of Naples had sent Beltram the Moor, who had been a long time his prisoner, to Morocco (his own country) with so many thousand crowns, to buy horses. The king asked him why he inserted that; because, said he, I think he will never come back to be a prisoner again, and so you have lost both man and money. But if he do come, then your jest is marred, quoth the King: No Sir; *for if he return I will blot out your name, and put him in for a fool.*

The application is easy and obvious. But the world wonders extremely, that so great a wise man as Sir Walter Ralegh would return to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock as I fear he will; and much more, that such choice men, and so great a power of ships, should "all come home and do nothing."

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JAMES

JAMES HOWELL, *Esq.* *to* CAREW RALEGH, *Esq.*

"SIR,

"YOURS of the 7th current was brought me, whereby I find that you did put yourself to the penance of perusing some Epistles that go imprinted lately in my name. I am bound to you for your pains and patience (for you write you read them all through) much more for your candid opinion of them, being right glad that they should give entertainment to such a choice and judicious gentleman as yourself. But whereas you seem to except against something in one letter that reflects upon Sir Walter Ralegh's voyage to Guiana, because I term the gold mine, he went to discover, an *airy and suppositious mine*, and so infer, that it toucheth his honour; truly, Sir, I will deal clearly with you in that point, that I never harboured in my brain the least thought to expose to the world any thing that might prejudice, much less traduce in the least degree that could be, that rare renowned knight, whose fame shall contend in longevity with this island itself, yea, with that great world which he historiseth so gallantly.

I was a youth about the town when he undertook that expedition, and I remember most men suspected that mine then to be but an imaginary politic thing; but at his return, and missing of the enterprise, these suspicions turned in most to real beliefs that it was no other. And King James, in that Declaration which he commanded to be printed and published afterward, touching the circumstances of this action (upon which my letter is grounded, and which I have still by me) terms it no less. And if we may not give faith to such public regal instruments, what shall we credit? Beside, there goes another printed kind of remonstrance annexed to that Declaration, which intimates as much. And there is a worthy captain in this town, who was co-adventurer in that expedition, who, upon the storming of St. Thomas, heard young Mr. Ralegh encouraging his men in these words, *come on, my noble hearts, this is the mine we come*

come for; and they who think there is any other are fools. Add hereunto, that Sir Richard Baker, in his last historical collections, intimates so much. Therefore, it was far from being any opinion broached by myself, or bottomed upon weak grounds; for I was careful of nothing more, than that those letters being to breath open air, should relate nothing but what should be derived from good fountains. And truly, Sir, touching that Apology of Sir Walter Ralegh's you write of, I never saw it, and I am very sorry I did not; for it had let in more light upon me of the carriage of that great action, and then you might have been assured, that I would have done that noble knight all the right that could be.

But, Sir, the several arguments that you urge in your letters are of that strength, I confess, that they are able to rectify any indifferent man in this point, and induce him to believe that it was no chimera, but a real mine. For you write of divers pieces of gold brought thence by Sir Walter himself, and captain Keymis, and of some ingots that were found in the governor's closet at St. Thomas with divers crucibles, and other refining instruments. Yet, under favour, that might be and the benefit not countervail the charge, for the richest mines that the King of Spain hath upon the whole continent of America, which are the mines of Potosi, yield him but six in the hundred, all expences defrayed. You write how King James sent privately to Sir Walter, being yet in the Tower, to entreat and command him, that he would impart his whole design to him under his hand, promising upon the word of a king to keep it secret. Which being done accordingly by Sir Walter Ralegh, that very original paper was found in the said Spanish governor's closet at St. Thomas. Wherat, as you have just cause to wonder, and admire the activeness of the Spanish agents about our court at that time, so I wonder no less at the miscarriage of some of his late majesty's ministers, who notwithstanding that he had passed his royal word to the contrary, yet they did help Count Gondomar to that paper. So that the reproach lieth more upon the English than the Spanish ministers in this particular.

Whereas

Whereas you alledge, that the dangerous sickness of Sir Walter, being arrived near the place, and the death of (that rare spark of courage) your brother upon the first landing, with other circumstances, discouraged captain Keymis from discovering the mine, but would reserve it for another time; I am content to give as much credit to this as any man can. As also that Sir Walter, if the rest of the fleet, according to his earnest motion, had gone with him to revictual in Virginia, (a country where he had reason to be welcome unto, being of his own discovery) he had a purpose to return to Guiana the spring following to pursue his first design. I am also very willing to believe, that it cost Sir Walter Ralegh much more to put himself in equipage for that long-intended voyage, than would have paid for his liberty, if he had gone about to purchase it for reward of money at home; though I am not ignorant that many of the co-adventurers made large contributions, and the fortunes of some of them suffer for it at this very day. But although Gondomar, as my letter mentions, calls Sir Walter pirate, I for my part am far from thinking so; because, as you give an unanswerable reason, the plundering of St. Thomas was an act done beyond the equator, where the articles of peace betwixt the two kings do not extend. Yet, under favour, though he broke not the peace, he was said to break his patent, by exceeding the bounds of his commission, as the foresaid Declaration relates. For King James had made strong promises to Count Gondomar, that this fleet should commit no outrages upon the King of Spain's subjects by land, unless they began first; and I believe that was the main cause of his death, though I think if they had proceeded that way against him, in a legal course of trial, he might have defended himself well enough.

Whereas you alledge, that if that action had succeeded, and afterward been well prosecuted, it might have brought Gondomar's great catholic master, to have been begged for at the church-doors by friars, as he was once brought, in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's days, I believe it had much damnified him, and interrupted him in the possession of his West-Indies, but not brought him, under favour,

vour, to so low an ebb. I have observed that it is an ordinary thing in your popish countries, for princes to borrow from the altar, when they are reduced to any straits; for they say, *the riches of the church are to serve as anchors in time of a storm.* Divers of our kings have done worse, by pawning their plate and jewels.

Whereas my letter makes mention that Sir Walter Ralegh mainly laboured for his pardon before he went, but could not compass it; this is also a passage in the aforesaid printed relation. But I could have wished with all my heart he had obtained it; for I believe, that neither the transgression of his commission, nor anything that he did beyond the Line, could have shortened the line of his life otherwise. But in all probability, we might have been happy in him to this very day, having such an heroic heart as he had, and other rare helps by his great knowledge, for the preservation of health. I believe without any scruple what you write, that Sir William St. John made an overture to him of procuring his pardon for £.1500, but whether he could have effected it, I doubt a little, when he had come to negociate it really. But I extremely wonder how that old sentence which had lain dormant above sixteen years, against Sir Walter Ralegh, could have been made use of to take off his head afterward, considering that the Lord Chancellor Verulam, as you write, told him positively (as Sir Walter was acquainting him with that proffer of Sir William St. John for a pecuniary pardon) in these words, *Sir, the knee-timber of your voyage is money; spare your purse in this particular, for upon my life you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the king having under his broad-seal made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers.* One would think that by this royal patent, which gave him power of life and death over the king's liege people, Sir Walter Ralegh should become *rectus in curia*, and free from all old convictions.

But, Sir, to tell you the plain truth, Count Gondomar at that time had a great stroke in our court, because there was more than a mere overture of a match with Spain; which makes me apt to believe, that that great wise knight being such an Anti-Spaniard, was made a sacri-

a sacrifice to advance the matrimonial treaty. But I must needs wonder, as you justly do, that one and the same man should be condemned for being a friend to the Spaniard, (which was the ground of his first condemnation) and afterward lose his head for being their enemy by the same sentence.

Touching his return, I must confess I was utterly ignorant that those two noble earls, Thomas of Arundel, and William of Pembroke, were engaged for him in this particular; nor doth the printed relation make any mention of them at all. Therefore I must say, that envy herself must pronounce that return of his, for the acquitting of his fiduciary pledges, to be a most noble act; and waving that of King Alphonso's Moor, I may more properly compare it to the act of that famous Roman commander (Regulus, as I take it) who, to keep his promise and faith, returned to his enemies where he had been prisoner, though he knew he went to an inevitable death. But well did that faithless cunning knight, who betrayed Sir Walter Ralegh in his intended escape being come a-shore, fall to that contemptible end, as to die a poor distracted beggar in the Isle of Lundey, having for a bag of money falsified his faith, confirmed by the tie of the holy sacrament, as you write; as also before the year came about, to be found clipping the same coin in the king's own house at Whitehall, which he had received as a reward for his perfidiousness; for which being condemned to be hanged, he was driven to sell himself to his shirt, to purchase his pardon of two knights.

And now, Sir, let that glorious and gallant cavalier Sir Walter Ralegh *(who lived long enough for his own honour, though not for his country,* as it was said of a Roman consul) rest quietly in his grave, and his virtues live in his posterity, as I find they do strongly, and very eminently in you. I have heard his enemies confess that he was one of the weightiest and wisest men that this island ever bred. Mr. Nathaniel Carpenter, a learned and judicious author, was not in the wrong when he gave this discreet character of him; *who hath not known or read of this prodigy of wit and fortune, Sir Walter Ralegh, a man unfortunate in nothing else, but in the greatness of his wit and advancement,*

vancement, whose eminent worth was such, both in domestic policy, foreign expeditions, and discoveries in arts and literature, both practic and contemplative, that it might seem at once to conquer example and imitation[1] *!*

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Camden, without informing us when Sir Walter arrived in England, makes a memorandum in his Annals of King James, that,

1618. "On May 13th, 1618, John North, brother to my Lord North, relates the sad news to the king about the unfortunate expedition of Sir Walter Ralegh to Guiana—his son being slain in the storming of the Spanish fort—Keymis, cutting his own throat for grief, died—the fleet dispersed." In addition to which, Arthur Wilson[2] informs us, that after a mutiny on board his remaining fleet at Newfoundland, Ralegh reached Kinsale and thence proceeded to Plymouth. His arrival at the latter port was probably late in June or early in July.

Ralegh's return.

Spanish match. Meanwhile a marriage which had been proposed between Prince Charles and the second daughter of Spain, was at this time an interesting and favourite idea with James; notwithstanding that court too plainly discovered with how little sincerity, for the present at least, it entered into the negociation. Among other advantages, the

Gondomar's persecution. king's anxiety, but too well understood by Gondomar, afforded that ambassador an opportunity, fatally favourable, of aggravating Sir Walter's conduct in America and ridding Spain of her old and inveterate enemy. It is possible also that the death of Palameca (his near relative[3]) at St. Thome, and the former capture by Ralegh of Don Pedro Sarmiento (perhaps, also a relative) may have added personal motives to the ambassador's resentment against Sir Walter. At any rate, he acted a very vigorous and decisive part against him; and

[1] See Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ, 11th edition, 8vo, 1754, p. 21 and 383.

[2] See his Life and Reign of James I.

[3] See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 210. note.

probably,

probably compelled the king, as he valued the Spanish alliance, to enter warmly into his cause. James accordingly gave an early proof of his devotion to this interest, by publishing a proclamation on the 11th of June, declaratory of his detestation of the conduct of the expedition; and charging such of his subjects as could give any information in the matter to repair immediately to the privy-council. This paper the reader will find, printed at full length in the Appendix[4]. King's proclamation.

The Harleian Collection has preserved a letter from a Mr. Thomas Lorkin, in London, to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart. at Warwick, written in June, 1618, a passage in which discovers the assiduity of Lord Carew at that time in Sir Walter's behalf, as well as the vain hopes entertained by his friends. "Sir Walter Ralegh's business," he writes, "rests yet in the same terms that before. Only my Lord Carew was upon his knees before the king on Thursday last a good-while, in his behalf. And they say His Majesty's answer was, that as good hang him as deliver him to the King of Spain, who assuredly would; and one of these two he must, at least if the case were so as the Spanish ambassador had represented it. And when my Lord yet pressed him, *why the most thou canst expect*, said the king, *is, that I would give him the hearing*, and so dismissed him. And, indeed, a legal hearing is all Sir Walter's well-wisher's desire, for then they make no doubt but he will make his cause good against all accusations in this kind whatsoever[5]." Lord Carew's assiduity. King's reply.

Sir Walter no sooner reached Plymouth and heard of the proclamation, than he resolved to surrender himself[6]; trusting, as he confessed before his death, *somewhat too much in the king's goodness*[7]. Before he came to Ashburton in his way to town, he met his relative Sir Lewis Stukely with authority to arrest and bring him to London; "so Surrenders himself.

[4] No XV. It is to be remarked of this paper that it alludes to limitations and cautions which the comission itself does not contain.

[5] See Vol. 7002.

[6] To Captain Samuel King, an old officer of Ralegh's, we are indebted for a narrative of the occurrences from Sir Walter's landing till his arrival in London. It has never, I believe, been published, but the MS. was seen and followed by Oldys (See his Life of Ralegh, p. 209.)

[7] See Sir Walter's Answer to some things at his death, in this chapter.

unnatural

unnatural and servile (observes Wilson) is the spirit when it hath an allay of baseness, there being many others fitter for that employment[8]." With Stukely Sir Walter returned to Plymouth; where, panic-struck upon a closer view of his situation, he once meditated an escape into France (with a view, probably, of returning to Guiana and proving his point), held a vessel in readiness some days, and one night actually took-boat for her. Still, however, the goodness of his cause prevailed over every apprehension, and this project was again laid aside[9]. Yet he found it necessary on his journey to London, to gain time for preparing his vindication by the expedient of feigning illness; which he practised at Salisbury by the assistance of Mannourie, a French quack, and in that interval wrote the Apology for his Voyage, already given in the preceding chapter. The particulars of this stratagem, as *prepared* and published by King James in his Declaration, after Sir Walter's death, will be found in the Appendix[10], and need not be repeated here.

Feigns illness.

As Sir Walter approached London and became better acquainted with the politics of the court, he regreted to his Lady (who it appears had joined him on the road) and to his old servant King, that he had not profited of the opportunity which he enjoyed at Plymouth. And when a pursuivant appeared, with a warrant for the speedy bringing-up his person, his constancy forsook him, and he again, notwithstanding the increased difficulty, meditated an escape. " He once more (King informs us) employed me, who was always ready to do anything that might procure his safety; being well assured in my own conscience, though he sought to absent himself till the Spanish fury was over, yet, as he always said, that no misery should make him disloyal to his king or country. And although Mannourie in his declaration sets down, that Sir Walter Ralegh should to him in private speak ill of His Majesty, yet I must protest till my last hour, that in all the years I followed him I never heard him name His Majesty but with reverence." King was accordingly

Meditates his escape.

[8] Life and Reign of James I.
[9] King's Narrative as above.
[10] No. XVIII.

dispatched

dispatched beforehand to London, to prepare a vessel for this purpose [11].

Meanwhile, the royal Declaration published after Sir Walter's death informs us, that on the knight's arrival at Brentford he received an overture (which was afterward followed up by a meeting) from Le Clerc, at this time the French agent in London, to facilitate his escape into France, and secure his introduction in that country; the former part of which he declined, placing greater confidence in his messenger's preparations [12]. King, however, as well as Ralegh, greatly misapplied his trust in the agents he employed; and Stukely, after receiving a bribe, encouraging and even pretending to lend a hand in the design, betrayed Sir Walter. In a boat, below Woolwich, in the very act of making his escape in disguise, the knight was apprehended; and recommitted to the Tower on the 10th of August [13].

Overture of French agent.

Betrayed by Stukely.

Recommitted to the tower.

Though the precise dates of the following letters, addressed by Sir Walter to the king and the favourite, be uncertain, no material error can arise by their insertion at this place.

Sir WALTER RALEGH *to King* JAMES I.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY!

" IF in my journey outward-bound I had my men murdered at the islands, and yet spared to take revenge; if I did discharge some Spanish barks taken, without spoil; if I forbore all parts of the Spanish Indies, wherein I might have taken twenty of their towns

Letter to the king.

[11] King's Narrative as above.

[12] See Appendix, No. XVIII. Le Clerc was cited before the council for this, and after enforcing the observance of certain ceremonies to himself, confessed the whole and was suspended from his office until it was known whether the King of France recognised his conduct of not. Sir W. Becher, our agent in France, was in consequence confined to his house, and a dispatch sent to Le Clerc to be delivered by *himself* to King James, with which he went to the king at Royston. Being refused admittance, and referred to the lords in waiting, he returned with the dispatch to France, and Becher's revocation ensued. (See Finetti Philoxenis, 8vo, 1656. p. 56; and Camden's Annals of James I. 1618.)

[13] King's Narrative as above.

on the sea-coasts; and did only follow the enterprise I undertook for Guiana (where, without any directions from me, a Spanish village was burnt which was new set-up within three miles of the mine) by Your Majesty's favour, I find no reason why the Spanish ambassador should complain of me.

If it were lawful for the Spaniards to murder twenty-six Englishmen, tying them back to back and then cutting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole month and came to them on the land without so much as one sword; and it may not be lawful for Your Majesty's subjects, being charged first by them, to repel force by force—we may justly say, *O! miserable English!*

If Parker and Mecham took Campeachy and other places in the Honduras, seated in the heart of the Spanish Indies, burnt towns and killed the Spaniards, and had nothing said unto them at their return; and myself, who forbore to look into the Indies because I would not offend, must be accused—I may as justly say, *O! miserable Ralegh!*

If I have spent my poor estate, lost my son, suffered, by sickness and otherwise, a world of hardships; if I have resisted, with manifest hazard of my life, the robberies and spoils with which my companions would have made me rich; if when I was poor I could have made myself rich; if when I had gotten my liberty, which all men and nature itself do much prize, I voluntarily lost it; if when I was sure of my life I rendered it again; if I might elsewhere have sold my ship and goods, and put five or £.6000 in my purse, and yet brought her into England; I beseech Your Majesty to believe that all this I have done, because it should not be said that Your Majesty had given liberty and trust to a man, whose end was but the recovery of his liberty, and who had betrayed Your Majesty's trust.

My mutineers told me, that if I returned for England I should be undone; but I believed in Your Majesty's goodness more than in all their arguments. Sure I am the first, that being free and able to enrich myself, yet hath embraced poverty and peril. And as sure I

am

am that my example shall make me the last. But Your Majesty's wisdom and goodness I have made my judges, who have ever been and shall ever be,

Your Majesty's most humble vassal,

WALTER RALEGH[*]."

Sir WALTER RALEGH *to the Marquis of* BUCKINGHAM.

" IF I presume too much, I humbly beseech Your Lordship to pardon me, especially in presuming to write to so great and worthy a person who hath been told that I have done him wrong. I heard it but of late; but most happy had I been, if I might have disproved that villainy against me, when there had been no suspicion that the desire to save my life had presented my excuse. Letter to Buckingham.

But, My Worthy Lord, it is not to excuse myself that I now write. I cannot, for I have now offended my sovereign lord. For all past, even all the world and my very enemies have lamented my loss; whom now if His Majesty's mercy alone do not lament, I am lost.

Howsoever, that which doth comfort my soul in this offence is, that even in the offence itself I had no other intent than His Majesty's service, and to make His Majesty know that my late enterprise was grounded upon a truth. And which with one ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured or to have died; being resolved, as it is well known, to have done it from Plymouth, had I not been restrained. Hereby I hoped not only to recover His Majesty's gracious opinion, but have destroyed all those malignant reports which had been spread of me. That this is true, that gentleman whom I so

[*] In a copy in the Harleian Collection (ix. 350.) this letter bears date September, 1618. See also other collections and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 375.

much trusted (my keeper) and to whom I opened my heart, cannot but testify; and wherein if I cannot be believed living, my death shall witness. Yea, that gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back toward London, I desired to save no other treasure than the exact description of those places in the Indies. That I meant to go hence as a discontented man, God I trust and mine own actions will dissuade His Majesty (whom neither the loss of my estate, thirteen years imprisonment and the denial of my pardon could beat from his service; and the opinion of being accounted a fool or rather distract, by returning as I did unpardoned, balanced with my love to His Majesty's person and estate) had no place at all in my heart.

It was the last severe letter from My Lords for the speedy bringing of me up and the impatience of dishonour, that first put me in fear of my life, or enjoying it in a perpetual imprisonment never to recover my reputation lost. Which strengthened me in my late, and too-late-lamented resolution if His Majesty's mercy do not abound; if His Majesty do not pity my age, and scorn to take the extremest and utmost advantage of my errors; if His Majesty, in his great charity, do not make a difference between offences proceeding from a life-saving, natural impulsion without all ill-intent, and those of an ill-heart; and that Your Lordship, remarkable in the world for the nobleness of your disposition, do not vouchsafe to become my intercessor. Whereby Your Lordship shall bind an hundred gentlemen of my kindred to honour your memory, and bind me, for all the time of that life which Your Lordship shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever prosper; and ever bind me to remain,

Your most humble servant,

W. RALEGH [15]"

[15] This letter in some copies bears date 1618. See Cabala, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 387.

August 12th, and in others October 14th,

Mean-
while,

anwhile, Gondomar had set-out in July[16] on his tardy[17] journey in, with the articles of the proposed marriage of Prince Charles signed by the king[18]. His parting injunction relative to Ralegh, is bed in an extant letter from Mr. (afterward Sir) Toby Matthew to the Lord Chancellor Bacon, written in August, 1618, in the following manner: Gondomar goes to Spain.

" At my parting last from Your Lordship, the grief I had to leave Your Lordship's presence though but for a little time was such, as that being accompanied with some small corporal indisposition that I was in, made me forgetful to say that which now for His Majesty's service I thought myself bound not to silence. I was credibly informed and assured when the Spanish ambassador went away, that howsoever Ralegh and the prentices[19] should fall out to be proceeded withal, no more instances would be made hereafter on the part of Spain for justice to be done ever in these particulars. But that if slackness were used here, they would be laid-up in the deck, and would serve for materials (this was the very word) of future and final discontentments. Now, as the humour and design of some may carry them toward troubling of the waters, so I know Your Lordship's both nature and great place require an appeasing them at your hands. And I have not presumed to say this little, out of any mind at all that I may have to meddle with matters so far above me, but out of a thought I had that I was tied in duty to lay thus much under Your Lordship's eye. Because I know and consider of whom I heard that speech, and with how grave circumstances it was delivered[20]." Parting injunction.

Too fatally for Sir Walter, and too injuriously for his own character with posterity, was James infatuated with the Spanish alliance, not to comply in the most implicit manner with Gondomar's exaction.

[16] See Camden's Annals of James I.
[17] See Rushworth's Hist. Collections, I. 9.
[18] See Rapin's England.
[19] They had insulted Gondomar for hurting a little boy as he was riding; and seven of them, found guilty, were condemned to six months imprisonment and a fine of £.500 each.
[20] See Bacon's Letters, Speeches, &c. published by Dr. Birch, 8vo. 1763, p. 178.

No

Ralegh examined.

No sooner was Ralegh re-commtted to the Tower, than the chancellor and other commissioners frequently met and examined him[21]. Much deliberation appears to have ensued respecting the manner of bringing him to execution; and it was at last resolved to sacrifice him to Spain, in a manner which has justly excited the abhorrence of all succeeding ages. The sentence passed fifteen years ago, the tacit conviction of the injustice of which then stopped its execution, was now to be enforced; and what is very remarkable, an act of *hostility* against Spain now drew-down the execution of that sentence, which had been passed for *collusion and amity* with that country. After a deliberation and examination which lasted two months, we find the following letter addressed by the commissioners to the king, relative to the form and manner of proceeding against Sir Walter.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY!

Comissioners' letter to the king.

"ACCORDING to your commandment given unto us, we have upon divers meetings and conferences, considered what form and manner of proceeding against Sir Walter Ralegh might best stand with Your Majesty's justice and honour, if you shall be pleased that the law shall pass upon him.

And first we are of opinion, that Sir Walter Ralegh being attainted of high-treason, which is the highest and last work of law, he cannot be drawn in question judicially for any crime or offence since committed. And therefore we humbly present two forms of proceeding to Your Majesty.

The one, that together with the warrant to the lieutenant of the Tower (if Your Majesty shall so please) for his execution, to publish a narrative in print of his late crimes and offences. Which (albeit Your Majesty is not bound to give an account of your actions in these cases to any, but only to God alone) we humbly offer to Your Majesty's consideration, as well in respect of the great effluxion of time si[illegible]

[21] Camden's Annals of Jas. I.

his attainder and of his employment by Your Majesty's commission, as for that his late crimes and offences are not yet publicly known.

The other form (whereunto, if Your Majesty so please, we rather incline) is, that where Your Majesty is so renowned for your justice, it may have such a proceeding as is nearest to legal proceeding. Which is, that he be called before the whole body of your council of state and your principal judges in your council-chamber, and that some of the nobility and gentlemen of quality be admitted to be present to hear the whole proceeding, as in like cases hath been used. And after the assembly of all these, that some of Your Majesty's counsellors of state that are best acquainted with the case, should openly declare, that this form of proceeding against Sir Walter is holden for that he is civilly dead. After this, Your Majesty's counsel learned to charge his acts of hostility, depredation, abuse as well of Your Majesty's commission as of your subjects under his charge, impostures, attempt of escape and other his misdemeanours. But for that which concerns the French, wherein he was rather passive than active, and without which the charge is complete, we humbly refer to Your Majesty's consideration how far that shall be touched. After which charge so given, the examinations read and Sir Walter heard, and some to be confronted against him if need be, then he is to be withdrawn and sent back; for that no sentence is, or can be, given against him. And after he is gone, then the lords of the council and judges to give their advice to Your Majesty; whether in respect of these subsequent offences, upon the whole matter, Your Majesty, if you so please, may not with justice and honour give warrant for his execution upon his attainder.

And of this whole proceeding, we are of opinion, that a solemn act of council should be made, with a memorial of the whole presence. But before this be done, that Your Majesty may be pleased to signify your gracious direction herein to your council of state. And that your counsel learned, before the calling of Sir Walter, should open the heads of the matter, together with the principal examinations touching the same, wherewith Sir Walter is to be charged, unto them;

them; that they may be perfectly informed of the true state of the case, and give their advice accordingly.

All which, nevertheless, we in all humbleness present and submit to your princely wisdom and judgment; and shall follow whatsoever it shall please Your Majesty to direct us herein, with all dutiful readiness.

Your Majesty's

Most humble and faithful servants," *&c*[22].

York-house,
this 18th of October, 1618.

Soon after the date of this letter, a privy-seal was sent to the judges to order immediate execution. In consequence of this, they held a conference on the 23d of October how prisoners attainted of treason and set at liberty, should be brought to execution; and resolved that Sir Walter ought to be brought to the bar, by habeas-corpus to the lieutenant of the Tower, and there demanded-of, if he could say anything why execution should not be awarded? A privy-seal therefore came to the King's-bench, commanding that court to proceed against him according to law[23]. And on the following day (October 24th) Camden informs us, Sir Walter was given to understand by the commissioners that it was the king's intention he should be put to death, and that therefore he should prepare himself[24].

Told to prepare for death.

To increase the misery of his situation, Ralegh laboured at this time under a severe fever. Yet, on Wednesday, the 28th of October, he was taken out of bed at eight in the morning in an ague-fit, and conveyed from the Tower by writ of habeas-corpus to the King's-bench-bar at Westminster. The proceedings there are thus described in the State-trials, from authentic manuscripts in the Harleian and other collections.

Brought to King's-bench.

[22] See Bacon's Letters, &c. as before, p. 181.
[23] See Hutton's, Crook's, and Rolle's Reports.
[24] Annals of Jas. I. October 24, 1618.

The

The bringing Sir WALTER RALEGH *to Execution.*

SIR Walter Ralegh, by virtue of His Majesty's writ of habeas-corpus, was brought to the King's-bench-bar at Westminster, where he was proceeded against as follows: Proceeding.

First, the writ, delivered to the judges by Sir Walter Apsley, was read; purporting, that whereas Sir Walter being long before, in the presence of divers noble personages, legally convicted of high-treason at Winchester; was then and there adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

After the reading of this writ, Mr. Attorney (Mr. Henry Yelverton) spake in effect thus: "My Lords, Sir Walter Ralegh, the prisoner at the bar, was fifteen years since convicted of high treason, by him committed against the person of His Majesty and the state of this kingdom, and then received the judgment of death, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. His Majesty of his abundant grace hath been pleased to shew mercy upon him till now, that justice calls unto him for execution. Sir Walter Ralegh hath been a statesman, and a man who in regard of his parts and quality is to be pitied. He hath been as a star at which the world hath gazed; but stars may fall, nay they must fall when they trouble the sphere wherein they abide. It is, therefore, His Majesty's pleasure now to call for execution of the former judgment, and I now require order for the same."

Then Mr. Fanshaw, clerk of the crown, read the record of the conviction and judgment, and called to the prisoner to hold up his hand; which he did. Then was the prisoner asked, what he could say for himself why execution should not be awarded against him.

Sir Walter Ralegh. My Lords, my voice is grown weak by reason of my late sickness, and an ague which I now have; for I was [redacted]rought hither out of it.

[redacted] *Chief Justice.* Sir Walter, your voice is audible enough.

[redacted]*alter.* Then, My Lord, all that I can say is this; that the [redacted]t which I received to die so long since, I hope it cannot now

be strained to take away my life; for that since it was His Majesty's pleasure to grant me a commission to proceed in a voyage beyond the seas, wherein I had power, as marshal, on the life and death of others, so, under favour, I presume I am discharged of that judgment. For by that commission I departed the land and undertook a journey, to honour my sovereign and to enrich his kingdom with gold, of the ore whereof this hand hath found and taken in Guiana; but the voyage, notwithstanding my endeavour, had no other success but what was fatal to me, the loss of my son and wasting of my whole estate.

Being about to proceed, he was by the Lord Chief Justice interrupted.

Lord Chief Justice. Sir Walter Ralegh, this which you now speak touching your voyage is not to the purpose, neither can your commission anyway help you; by that you are not pardoned; for by words of a special nature, in case of treason, you must be pardoned, and not implicitly. There was no word tending to pardon in all your commission, and therefore you must say something else to the purpose, otherwise we must proceed to give execution.

Sir Walter Ralegh. If your opinion be so, My Lord, I am satisfied, and so put myself on the mercy of the king, who I know is gracious; and, under favour, I must say, I hope he will be pleased to take commiseration upon me. As concerning that judgment which is so long past, and which I think here are some could witness, nay His Majesty was of opinion, that I had hard measure therein.

Lord Chief Justice. Sir Walter Ralegh you must remember yourself; you had an honourable trial, and so were justly convicted; and it were wisdom in you now to submit yourself and to confess your offence did justly draw upon you that judgment which was then pronounced against you; wherefore I pray you attend what I shall say unto you. I am here called to grant execution upon the judgment given you fifteen years since; all which time you have been as a dead man in the law, and might at any minute have been cut-off, but the king in mercy spared you. You might think it heavy if this were done in cold blood, to call you to execution; but it is not so; for new offences have stirred up His Majesty's justice, to remember to revive what the

law

law hath formerly cast upon you. I know you have been valiant and wise, and I doubt not but you retain both these virtues, for now you shall have occasion to use them. Your faith hath heretofore been questioned, but I am resolved you are a good Christian, for your book which is an admirable work, doth testify as much. I would give you counsel, but I know you can apply unto yourself far better than I am able to give you: yet will I, with the good neighbour in the gospel (who finding one in the way wounded and distressed, poured oil into his wounds and refreshed him) give unto you the oil of comfort, though in respect that I am a minister of the law, mixed with vinegar. Sorrow will not avail you in some kind: for were you pained, sorrow would not ease you; were you afflicted, sorrow would not relieve you; were you tormented, sorrow could not content you; and yet the sorrow for your sins would be an everlasting comfort to you. You must do as that valiant captain did, who perceiving himself in danger, said in defiance of death, *death thou expectest me, but maugre thy spite I expect thee.* Fear not death too much, nor fear death too little; not too much, lest you fail in your hopes; not too little, lest you die presumptuously. And here I must conclude with my prayers to God for it, and that he would have mercy on your soul.

And so the Lord Chief Justice ended with these words, Execution is granted.

Sir Walter Ralegh. My Lord, I desire thus much favour; that I may not be cut-off suddenly, for I have something to do in discharge of my conscience, and something to satisfy His Majesty in, something to satisfy the world in, and I desire I may be heard at the day of my death. And here I take God to be my judge, before whom I shall shortly appear, I was never disloyal to His Majesty; which I will justify where I shall not fear the face of any king on earth. And so I beseech you all to pray for me[25]."

[25] See Hargrave's State Trials, Vol. VIII. Appendix, No. IV.

Taken to Gatehouse.

Sir Walter was now delivered into the custody of the sheriffs of Middlesex, and conveyed to the Gatehouse near the Palace-yard. Although the king was in Hertfordshire, the warrant for his execution was produced, already signed, as soon as the sentence was passed. Dispensing with the former judgment of hanging, drawing, and quartering, it required only that he should be beheaded; and may be seen at length in the Appendix[26].

Petitions for him.

If Osborn's observation be just, that *King James so far participated of the humour of a pusillanimous prince, as to pardon any sooner than those injured by himself*[27], we shall not be surprised that some petitions said to have been presented to him in Sir Walter's behalf, as well as sollicitations from persons of distinction, proved ineffectual. The queen appears to have been in the number of these intercessors, by the following extant letter from her to the Marquis of Buckingham; which was probably written, however, earlier than the period which at present engages our attention.

ANNA, R.

"MY KIND DOGGE,

Queen's letter.

"IF I have any power or credit with you, I pray you let me have a trial of it at this time, in dealing sincerely and earnestly with the king, that Sir Walter Ralegh's life may not be called in question. If you do it so that the success answer my expectation, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinary kindly at your hands; and rest one, that wisheth you well, and desires you to continue still as you have been, a true servant to your master."

To the Marquis of Buckingham[28].

[26] No. XVI.

[27] Miscell. Works, II. 107.

[28] Copied from the Original by Archbishop Sancroft and Dr. Charles Lyttleton, Bishop of Carlisle (See Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, 8vo, 1781, I. 94. and Dalrymple's Memorials of Jas. I. small 8vo, 1766, p. 78.)

Few

His firmness.

Few have acted so difficult a part in the last scene of life, with the spirit and firmness which Ralegh displayed in it. The inefficacy of the intercessions with the king in his behalf, proved no disappointment to him; he no longer expected, he seemed not to wish for, mercy. To some of his friends who deplored his misfortunes, he said with calmness, *the world itself is but a larger prison, out of which some are daily selected for execution.* Between his return from the king's-bench and his execution, which took place the next morning, he is supposed to have written the following verses, as well as answer to certain imputations against him.

Verses before death.

Cowards may fear to die; but courage stout,
Rather than live in snuff, will be put-out.

MY PILGRIMAGE.

Give me my scallop-shell of quiet,
My staff of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
My bottle of salvation,
My gown of glory, hope's true gage,
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.

Blood must be my body's balmer,
While my soul, like quiet palmer,
Trav'leth tow'rd the land of heaven;
No other balm will here be given.

Over the silver mountains
Where spring the nectar-fountains,
There will I kiss
The bowl of bliss,
And drink mine everlasting fill
Upon every milken hill;
My soul will be a-dry before,
But after, it will thirst no more.

I'll take them first,
To quench my thirst,
And taste of nectar's suckets
At those clear wells
Where sweetness dwells,
Drawn-up by saints in crystal buckets.

Then, by that happy blestful day,
More peaceful pilgrims I shall see
That have cast-off their rags of clay,
And walk apparell'd-fresh like me.

And when our bodies and all we
Are fill'd with immortality,
Then the bless'd parts we'll travel,
Strow'd with rubies thick as gravel,
Cielings of diamond, sapphire flowers,
High walls of coral, pearly bowers.

From thence to heaven's bribeless hall,
Where no corrupted voices brawl,
No conscience molten into gold,
No forg'd accuser bought or sold,
No cause deferr'd, no vain-spent journey,
For there Christ is the King's attorney;
Who pleads for all without degrees,
And he hath angels, but no fees.

And when the twelve grand million jury
Of our sins, with direful fury
Against our souls black verdicts give,
Christ pleads his death, and then we live.

Be thou my speaker, taintless pleader!
Unblotted lawyer! true proceeder!
Thou would'st salvation e'en for alms,
Not with a bribed lawyer's palms.

And this is mine eternal plea
To him that made heav'n, earth, and sea;
That, since my flesh must die so soon
And want a head to dine next noon,
Just at the stroke, when my veins start and spread,
Set on my soul an everlasting head!

Then

Then am I ready, like a palmer fit,
To tread those bless'd paths which before I writ.
Of death and judgment, heav'n and hell,
Who oft doth think, must needs die well.

WRITTEN IN HIS BIBLE.

~~Even~~ such is time! which takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, and all we have;
And pays us nought but age and dust,
Which, in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts-up the story of our days.
And from which grave and earth and dust
The Lord shall raise me up, I trust [29].

Sir WALTER RALEGH's *Answer to some Things at his Death.*

Answer to some imputations.

I. I DID never receive any direction from My Lord Carew to make my escape, nor did I ever tell Stukely any such thing.

II. I did never name My Lord Hay and My Lord Carew to Stukely in other words or sense, than as my honourable friends, among other lords.

III. I did never shew unto Stukely any letter wherein there was £.10,000 named, or any one pound; only I told him, that I hoped to procure the payment of his debts in his absence.

IV. I never had commission from the French King.

V. I never saw the French King's hand or seal in my life.

VI. I never had any plot or practice with the French, directly or indirectly, nor with any other prince or state unknown to the king.

VII. My true intent was to go to a mine of gold in Guiana; it

[29] See Sundry Collections, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 398, 400.

was

was not feigned, but it is true, that such a mine there is within three miles of St. Thome.

VIII. I never had in my thought to go from Trinidado and leave my companies to come after to the Savage-Island, as Hatby Fearn hath falsely reported.

IX. I did not carry with me 100 pieces; I had with me about 60, and brought back nearly the same number.

X. I never spake to the French Mannourie any one disloyal word, or dishonourable-speech of the king. Nay, if I had not loved the king truly, and trusted in his goodness somewhat too much, I know that I had not now suffered death.

These things are most true, as there is a God, and as I am now to appear before his tribunal seat! where I renounce all mercy and salvation, if this be not truth.

At my Death,

WALTER RALEGH[30]."

Behaviour on scaffold.

About nine o'clock on Thursday-morning, the 29th of October (the day of the Lord-mayor's inauguration, and which, perhaps, was never before attended with a public execution) Sir Walter Ralegh[31] was conducted by the sheriffs to a scaffold erected in Old Palace-yard. His countenance was cheerful, he saluted the lords and gentlemen of his acquaintance who were present, and when proclamation for silence was made, he said, "I desire to be borne withal, for this is the third day of my fever; and if I shall shew any weakness, I beseech you to attribute it to my malady, for this is the hour in

[30] See the end of his Apology for his last voyage to Guiana, and Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 280.

[31] Oldys informs us, the knight *had on a wrought nightcap under his hat, a ruff band, a black wrought velvet nightgown over a hair-coloured sattin doublet, and a black wrought waiscoat, a pair of black cut taffety breeches, and ash-coloured silk stockings.* (p. 227.)

which

which it is wont to come." He then directed himself toward a window where Lords Arundel, Northampton, Doncaster, and others sat, and proceeded, "I thank God of his infinite goodness, that he hath brought me to die in the light and not in darkness." But, fearing he was not heard by them, he said he would strain his voice because he wished them to hear him; upon which Lord Arundel and others came to the scaffold, where, when he had saluted them, he proceeded thus [32]:

Sir WALTER RALEGH'S *Speech on the Scaffold.*

"As I said, I thank God heartily that he hath brought me into the light to die and hath not suffered me to die in the dark prison of the Tower, where I have suffered a great deal of misery and cruel sickness. And I thank God that my fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed God it might not, that I might clear myself of some accusations unjustly laid to my charge, and leave behind me the testimony of a true heart both to my king and country. Speech.

There are two main points of suspicion that His Majesty, as I hear, hath conceived against me, and which I conceive, have specially hastened my coming hither; wherein His Majesty cannot be satisfied, and which I desire to clear and resolve you of.

One is, that His Majesty hath been informed I have had some plot with France; and His Majesty had some reasons to induce him thereunto. One reason, that His Majesty had to conjecture so, was, that when I came back from Guiana, being come to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go in a bark to Rochel; which was, because I would fain have made my peace before I came to England. Another reason was, that upon my flight I did intend to fly to France for saving of my life, having had some terror from above [33]. A third reason was,

[32] See Hargrave's State Trials, I. 229. [33] Alluding to the reports he received from the court.

the French [illegible]oming to me, and it was reported that I had commission from the King of France.

But this I say. For a man to call God to witness to a falsehood at any time, is a grievous sin, and what shall he hope for at the tribunal-day of judgment? But to call God to witness to a falsehood at the time of death, is far more grievous and impious. A man that so doth cannot have salvation, for he hath no time for repentance; and what should I expect, that am now going to render an account of my faith? I do therefore call God to witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see him in his kingdom, which I hope will be within this quarter of this hour, I never had any commission from the French king, nor never saw the French king's hand-writing in all my life; neither knew I that [illegible] was an agent, nor what he was, till I met him in my gallery, at my lodging, unlooked-for. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never enter into thy kingdom!

The second suspicion was, that His Majesty hath been informed, that I should speak dishonourably and disloyally of him. But my accuser was a base Frenchman, a runagate-fellow, one that hath no dwelling, a kind of a chemical fellow, one that I knew to be perfidious. For being by him drawn into the action of freeing myself at Winchester, in which I confess my hand was touched, he, being sworn to secrecy overnight, revealed it the next morning.

But in this I speak now, what have I to do with king's? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them. I have only now to do with my God, in whose presence I stand. Therefore to tell a lie, were it to gain the king's favour, were vain. Therefore, as I hope to be saved at the last day, I never spake dishonourably, disloyally, or dishonestly of His Majesty, neither to this Frenchman nor to any other, neither that I had ever a thought of ill of His Majesty in all my life. Therefore I cannot but think it strange, that this Frenchman, being so base and mean a fellow, should be so far credited as he hath been. I have dealt truly, as I hope to be saved, and I hope I shall be believed.

I confess

I confess I did attempt to escape; I cannot excuse it, but it was only to save my life. And I do likewise confess I did dissemble and feign myself sick at Salisbury. But I hope it was no sin. For, the prophet David did make himself a fool, and suffered spittle to fall down upon his beard, to escape from the hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed unto him. So what I did, I intended no ill, but to prolong time till His Majesty came, hoping for some commmiseration from him.

But I forgive this Frenchman and Sir Lewis Stukely with all my heart; for I have received the sacrament this morning of Mr. Dean of Westminster[34], and I have forgiven all men. But that they are perfidious, I am bound in charity to speak, that all men may take heed of them.

Sir Lewis Stukely, my keeper and kinsman, hath affirmed that I should tell him, my Lord Carew and my Lord of Doncaster here, did advise me to escape. But I protest before God, I never told him any such thing! neither did the Lords advise me to any such matter; neither is it likely I should tell any such thing to two privy-counsellors; neither had I any reason to tell him, or he to report it; for, it is well-known, he left me six, seven, eight, nine and ten days together alone, to go whither I listed, while he rode about the country.

Again, he accused me, that I should tell him, My Lord Carew and My Lord Doncaster would meet me in France, which was never my speech or thought.

He farther accused me, that I should shew him a letter, whereby I did signify that I would give him £.10,000 for my escape. But God cast my soul into everlasting fire, if I ever made him offer of £.10,000 or £1,000! but indeed I shewed him a letter, that if he would go with me, there should be order taken for his debts when he was gone. Neither had I £.1,000; for if I had had so much, I could have made my peace better with it otherway than in giving it Stukely.

[34] Dr. Robert Tounson, afterward bishop of Sarum. He attended Sir Walter in his last hours. See his letter on the subject, in this chapter.

Farther, when I came to Sir Edward Parham, who had been a follower of mine, who gave me good entertainment, he gave out, I had received some dram of poison in Sir Edward's house; when I answered, that I feared no such thing, for I was well-assured of them in the house, and therefore wished him to have no such thought. Now God forgive him! for I do, and I desire God to forgive him. I will not only say God is the God of revenge, but I desire God to forgive him as I hope to be forgiven.

Looking over his note of remembrance, well, thus far I have gone; a little more, and I will have done by-and-by.

It was told the king I was brought perforce into England, and that I did not intend to come again; whereas captain Charles Parker, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Leake, and divers others that knew how I was dealt withal, shall witness for me. For the common soldiers, which were 150, mutinied, and sent for me to come into the gun-room, for unto me they would not come. And there was I forced to take an oath that I would not come into England till they would have me, or else they would cast me into the sea; and therewithal they drove me into my cabin and bent all their force against me. After I had taken this oath, with wine and other things I drew the chiefest to desist, and at length I persuaded them to go into Ireland. Then would they have gone into the north parts of Ireland, but I told them they were red-shanks; and with much ado I persuaded them to go into the south parts of Ireland, promising to get their pardons; and was forced to give them £.125 at Kinsale, to bring them home, otherwise I had never got from thence.

There was a report that I meant not to go to Guiana at all, and that I knew not of any mine, nor intended any such matter, but only to get my liberty, which I had not the wit to keep. But it was my full intent to go for gold, for the benefit of His Majesty, myself, and those that went with me, with the rest of my countrymen. But he that knew the head of the mine, would not discover it when he saw my son was slain, but made himself away.

Turning

Turning to the Earl of Arundel, My Lord, being in the gallery of my ship, at my departure, I remember Your Honour took me by the hand and said you would request me one thing; that was, whether I made a good voyage or bad, I should return again into England. Which I then promised, and gave you my faith I would.

And so you did (answered the Earl) it is true they were the last words I spake unto you.

Another slander was raised of me, that I would have gone away from them and left them at Guiana. But there were a great many worthy men that accompanied me always, as my serjeant-major, George Ralegh, and divers others *(whom he named)* that knew my intent was nothing so.

Also it hath been said, that I stinted them of fresh water. To which I answer, every one was, as they must be in a ship, furnished by measure and not according to their appetites; this course all seamen know must be used among them, and to this straight were we driven.

Another opinion was, that I carried to sea 16,000 pieces; and that was all the voyage intended, only to get money into my hands, and that I had weighed my voyage before. As I shall answer it before God, I had not in all the world in my hands, or others to my use, either directly or indirectly, above £.100! whereof, when I went I gave my wife about £.45. But the error thereof came, as I perceive, there was entered £.20,000, and but £.4,000 in the surveyor's book; the rest had my hand to the bills for divers adventures. But I protest I had not a penny of money more than £.100, as I hope to be saved!

And these be the material points I thought good to speak of. I am now at this instant to render my account to God, and I protest, as I shall appear before him, this that I have spoken is true!

Only I will borrow a little time more of Mr. Sheriff, for I may not detain him too long. And herein I shall speak of the imputation laid upon me that I should be a persecutor of My Lord of Essex, that I rejoiced in his death, and stood in a window overagainst him when he

he suffered, and puffed-out tobacco in disdain of him. Whereas, God I take to witness, I shed tears for him when he died! And, as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, My Lord of Essex did not see my face at the time of his death! for I was afar-off in the armory, where I saw him but he saw not me. I confess indeed I was of a contrary faction; but I knew my Lord of Essex was a noble gentleman, and that it would be worse with me when he was gone. For I got the hate of those which wished me well before; and those that set me against him, afterward set themselves against me and were my greatest enemies. And my soul hath many times been grieved, that I was not nearer him when he died; because, as I understood afterward, he asked for me at his death, to have been reconciled unto me.

And now I entreat you all to join with me in prayer to the great God of Heaven, whom I have grievously offended, being a man full of all vanity, and have lived a sinful life in all sinful callings; for I have been a soldier, a captain, a sea-captain, and a courtier, which are courses of wickedness and vice; that God would forgive me and cast-away my sins from me, and that he would receive me into everlasting life. So I take my leave of you all, making my peace with God[35]."

Death. Order was now given that the scaffold should be cleared, and Sir Walter prepared himself for his execution. His hat, money, and other trifles, he gave to some attendants who stood near him. When he took leave of his friends, he requested Lord Arundel to entreat the king that no writings defamatory of him might be published after his death; and concluded with the words, *I have a long journey to go,*

[35] I believe there is not a sentence in this speech, wherein any two copies of it, printed or MS. completely agree. The endeavour here has been, to select, from the most authentic sources, the most probable language of the age. See the Harleian and other collections; Overbury's Arraignment of Ralegh; Ralegh's Remains; Oldys' Life; and Dr. Birch's Works of Ralegh.

and

and therefore I will take my leave. Having taken-off his gown and doublet, he asked the executioner to shew him the axe; which not being immediately complied with, he said, *I prithee let me see it, do'st thou think that I am afraid of it?* He took hold of it, felt the edge, and smiling, said to the sheriff *this is a sharp medicine, but it is a physician for all diseases.* He then went to all parts of the scaffold, and desired the company to pray God to assist and strengthen him in this severe trial. The executioner kneeling to ask his forgiveness, he laid his hand on his shoulder and said he forgave him. Being asked which way he would lay himself on the block, he answered, *so the heart be right it is no matter which way the head lies*; and reclining with his face toward the east, the executioner spread his own cloak under him. After a short pause, he gave the signal that he was ready, by lifting-up his hand; and was beheaded at two strokes, without the least shrink or motion of his body. The extraordinary efflux of blood astonished the spectators, who were impressed with the idea that Sir Walter had vigour of constitution to have survived many more years, though already sixty-six.

The head, after being shewn on either side of the scaffold, was put into a red-leathern bag, over which Sir Walter's gown was thrown, and the whole conveyed away in a mourning-coach appointed by Lady Ralegh [36]. It was preserved by her in a case during the twenty-nine years which she survived her husband; and afterward with no less piety by their affectionate son Carew, with whom it is supposed to have been buried at West-Horsley in Surry [37]. The body was interred in the chancel near the altar of St. Margaret, Westminster.

Dr.

[36] For the account thus far of Sir Walter's execution, see the above-mentioned pieces. In the Appendix (No. XVII.) will also be found a letter descriptive of the same from Mr. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart. preserved in the Harleian Collection, and now first published.

[37] Such a tradition prevails at Horsley, (formerly Carew's seat) in opposition to Anthony Wood's assertion, that he was buried in the same grave with his father. Oldys informs us he had seen a letter from William Nicholas, Esq. (then resident on that estate) *wherein that ingenious gentleman does verily believe, the head he saw dug-up there in* 1703, *from the side of a grave where a Carew Ralegh had been buried, was that of Sir Walter Ralegh; there being no bones of a body to it, nor room for any, the rest of that side of the grave being firm chalk.*

While

Dr. Robert Tounson, at that time Dean of Westminster, and afterward Bishop of Salisbury, attended Sir Walter in his last hours. A letter of his to a friend, descriptive of the knight's last behaviour, has fortunately been preserved, and is here presented to the reader:

Dr. TOUNSON *to Sir* JOHN ISHAM, *of Lamport, Northamptonshire.*

(Westminster College, November 9th, 1618.)

"SIR,

Tounson's Letter.

"THE last week was a busy week with me, and the week before that was more. I would gladly have writ unto you, but could find no time. Yet I hope you had the relation of Sir Walter Ralegh's death, for so I gave order, that it should be brought unto you.

I was commanded by the Lords of the Council to be with him, both in prison and at his death, and so set-down the manner of his death as near as I could. There be other reports of it, but that which you have from me is true. One Crawford, who was sometime Mr. Rodeknight's pupil, hath penned it prettily, and meaneth to put it to the press, and came to me about it, but I hear not that it is come-forth.

The sum of that which he spake at his death, you have, I suppose already; when he never made mention of his offence for which he died (namely his former treason) but only desired to clear himself of new imputations there mentioned. Privately he told me in prison, that he was charged to have broken the peace with Spain, but he put

While on the subject of Sir Walter's head, the following story occurs in Fuller and Osborn. Mr. Edward Wiemark, a wealthy citizen, great newsmonger and constant *Paul's-walker*, hearing there of Sir Walter's death on the day he was beheaded, and remarking that his head would do very well on Sir Robert Naunton's shoulders (then secretary of state) was informed against, and summoned to the privy council. Pleading that he intended no disrespect to Mr. Secretary, but spoke only in reference to the old proverb, that two heads are better than one, he was dismissed. Shortly afterward, when a contribution was raising to St. Paul's cathedral, Wiemark at the council-table subscribed £.100. Upon which the secretary remarked, *two hundred are better than one you know, Mr. Weimark*, which sum, between fear and charity, he subscribed.

that

that he said out of the count of his offences, saving that he heard the king was displeased at it. For how could he break peace with him, who within these four years, as he said, took divers of his men and bound them back to back, and drowned them? And for burning the town, he said it stood upon the king's own ground, and therefore he did no wrong in that.

He was the most fearless of death that ever was known; and the most resolute and confident, yet with reverence and conscience. When I began to encourage him against the fear of death, he seemed to make so light of it that I wondered at him. And when I told him that the dear servants of God, in better causes than his, had shrunk back and trembled a little, he denied not; but yet gave God thanks he never feared death, and much less then. For it was but an opinion and imagination, and the manner of death though to others might seem grievous, yet he had rather die so than of a burning fever. With much more to that purpose, with such confidence and cheerfulness, that I was fain to divert my speech another way; and wished him not to flatter himself, for this extraordinary boldness I was afraid came from some false ground. If it sprang from the assurance he had of the love and favour of God, of the hope of his salvation by Christ, and his own innocency, as he pleaded, I said he was an happy man. But if it were out of an humour of vain-glory, or carelessness, or contempt of death, or senselessness of his own estate, he were much to be lamented, &c. For I told him, that heathen men had set as little by their lives as he could do, and seemed to die as bravely. He answered that he was persuaded, that no man that knew God and feared him could die with cheerfulness and courage, except he were assured of the love and favour of God unto him. That other men might make shews outwardly, but they felt no joy within; with much more to that effect very Christianly, so that he satisfied me then, as I think he did all his spectators at his death.

After he had received the communion in the morning, he was very cheerful and merry; and hoped to persuade the world that he died an

innocent man, as he said. Thereat I told him, that he should do well to advise what he said; men in these days did not die in that sort innocent, and his pleading innocency was an oblique taxing of the justice of the realms upon him. He confessed justice had been done, and by course of law he must die; but yet I should give him leave he said, to stand upon his innocency in the fact; and he thought both the king and all that heard his answers, thought verily he was innocent for that matter.

I then pressed him to call to mind what he had done formerly. And though perhaps in that particular for which be was condemned, he was clear, yet for some other matter it might be he was guilty, and now the hand of God had found him out; and therefore he should acknowledge the justice of God in it, though at the hands of men he had but hard measure. And here I put him in mind of the death of My Lord of Essex, how it was generally reported that he was a great instrument of his death, which if his heart did charge him with, he should heartily repent and ask God forgiveness. To which he made answer as is in the former relation, and said moreover that My Lord of Essex was fetched-off by a trick, which he privately told me of.

He was very cheerful that morning he died, eat his breakfast heartily and took tobacco, and made no more of his death than if he had been to take a journey. And left a great impression in the minds of those that beheld him, insomuch that Sir Lewis Stukely and the Frenchman grow very odious.

This was the news a week since, but now it is blown-over, and he almost forgotten [38]."

* * * * * *

[38] This letter, said to be still preserved in the Isham family, was first copied from the original, and published by the celebrated Hearne (See Hemingford, Appendix to Preface, Vol. I. No. 15, p. clxxxi.) It has also been printed in Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, II. 421.

The

The universal distaste which prevailed for the intimate connexion into which James was now labouring to enter with Spain, contributed to aggravate the injustice of this great man's catastrophe; and to render it a measure so odious with the public, that a recourse to every plausible palliation appears to have been deemed expedient on the part of government. The wretched Stukely, whose end, as already related by Howell, proved his villainy, produced a pitiful vindication of his conduct, in a pamphlet addressed to the king[39]; in which his last petition is, *that His Majesty would be so gracious as to suffer a* Declaration *to come forth from the state, for the clearing of these matters and farther satisfaction of the world.* Oldys stiles this production *a fomentation to supple the minds of the uneasy people, that the sovereign unguent might enter more effectually*[40], in allusion to the Declaration which the king afterward published in vindication of his own conduct. This piece will be found at length in the Appendix[41]. In an extant letter of Lord Bacon to Buckingham, dated November 22, 1618, he writes, *we have put the Declaration touching Ralegh to the press, with His Majesty's additions, which were very material and fit to proceed from His Majesty*[42]. This sufficiently discovers the labour bestowed upon it, and it may only be farther necessary to remark here, that the authors have not neglected the advantage which they enjoyed, of culling a plausible tale from the superficial circumstances of the case.

His execution odious to the people.

King's Declaration.

I conclude the present chapter with part of a letter preserved in Rushworth's Collections, from a great minister of state (as he calls him, without giving us his name) to Mr. Cottington, at that time our agent in Spain. Should the reader still require a proof of the meanness and cruelty which attended the sacrifice of Sir Walter Ra-

[39] To the King's most Excellent Majesty, the humble Petition and Information of Sir Lewis Stukeley, Knt. Vice-admiral of Devon, touching his own behaviour in the charge committed to him for the bringing-up of Sir Walter Ralegh, and the scandalous aspersions cast upon him for the same, 4to, 1618.

[40] Life of Ralegh, p. 220.

[41] No. XVIII.

[42] See Bacon's Letters, Speeches, &c. by Birch, p. 187.

legh to that court, this document may, perhaps, afford him a satisfactory one.

" Good Mr. Cottington,

Letter to Cottington.

" I doubt not but before these come to your hands, you will have heard of the receipt of all your former letters. These are in answer of your last of October 8th, wherein you advertise of the arrival of the Conde Gondomar at Lerma, and of his entertainment by that Duke. It seemeth unto us here in England that he hath gone but very slowly in his journey, and divers (seeing how long time he hath spent in the way) do make conjecture that it proceedeth from the small affection that he judgeth to be there toward the effecting of the main business. Saying, if the ambassador were assured that his master did so really desire the speedy effecting thereof as is pretended, he would have made more haste homeward; and that it hath not been sincerely intended, but merely used by that state as an amusement to entertain and busy His Majesty withal, and for the gaining of time for their own ends. And this is muttered here by very many; but I hope we shall ere long receive such an account from thence of their proceedings as will give sufficient satisfaction.

For my own part, I must confess I am yet well persuaded of their intentions. For, if there be either honour, religion or moral honesty in them, the protestations and professions which I have so often heard them make and you likewise daily advertise hither, are sufficient to persuade a man that will not judge them worse than infidels, to expect sincere dealing in the business. And whensoever I shall perceive that they go about to do otherwise, I must confess myself to have been deceived, as I shall ever be, on the like terms while I deal with inmost care. But withal, I shall judge them the most unworthy and perfidious people of the world; and the more for that His Majesty hath given them so many testimonies of his sincere intentions toward them, which he daily continueth, as now of late, by the causing Sir Walter Ralegh to be put to death

death chiefly for the giving them satisfaction. Whereof His Majesty commanded me to advertise you, and concerning whom you shall by the next receive a Declaration, shewing the motives which induced His Majesty to recal his mercy, through which he had lived this many years a condemned man.

In the mean time, I think it fit, that to the Duke of Lerma, the confessor, and the secretary of state, you do represent His Majesty's real manner of proceeding with that king and state; and how, for the advancing of the great business, he hath endeavoured to satisfy them in all things. Letting them see, how in many actions of late of that nature His Majesty hath strained upon the affections of his people; and especially in this last concerning Sir Walter Ralegh, who died with a great deal of courage and constancy, and at his death moved the common sort of people to much remorse, who all attributed his death to the desire His Majesty had to satisfy Spain. Farther, you may let them know, how able a man Sir Walter Ralegh was to have done His Majesty service, if he should have been pleased to employ him. Yet, to give them content he hath not spared him, when, by preserving him, he might have given great satisfaction to his subjects, and had at command, upon all occasions, as useful a man as served any prince in Christendom. And on the contrary, the king of Spain is not pleased to do anything which may be so inconvenient unto him as to lessen the affections of his people, or to procure so much as murmuring or distractions among them; and therefore it is to be expected that, on his part, they answer His Majesty at least with sincere and real proceeding, since that is all they are put to, the difficulties and hazards being indeed on His Majesty's side.

And truly, I should think it fit that, not by way of commination, but as it were out of zeal to the peace and amity betwixt these two crowns, you did intimate to the duke and the other ministers, how impossible you held it to have peace long continued betwixt their majesties, if in this business wherein so much hath been professed there should be found any indirectness. But herein you must be

cautious

cautious and temperate. For as on the one side you and I well know that this stile most persuades with them, so on the other side the decency and *buen termine* that is to be observed betwixt great princes, will hardly admit of threats or revenge for a wooing language. But this I know falleth into so discreet a hand, that I little fear the handsome carriage of it; and I hope that before these letters arrive with you, we shall hear from you in such a stile, that this advice of mine shall be of no use [43].

* * * * * * * * *

[43] See Rushworth's Historical Collections, folio, 1682, I. 9.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

THE rapid succession of conspicuous circumstances in the life of a celebrated public character, does not always afford us the leisure which we require for the due notice of other objects of biographical attention. Thus, although in the preceding chapters we have accompanied Sir Walter Ralegh, as far as obtainable records have enabled us, through the eventful part which he supported on the theatre of public life, some attention is still due to his more private hours, as well as to other points of biographical interest, before we close the scene; and which perhaps could less conveniently have been afforded them in any other place.

Of the manner in which many of these hours were employed, particularly those of his long imprisonment, we have very conspicuous testimonies in such of Sir Walter's writings as have been committed to the press; among which the most extensive is his History of the World. It was published, as has been already observed, in the year 1614; and the eleventh and last edition, which is the best, was edited by Oldys, in folio, in 1736. Beginning with the creation, Sir Walter has in this work given us the flower of recorded story to the end of the second Macedonian war; and having reviewed the three first monarchies of the world, he leaves Rome triumphant in the fourth, about a century and a half before the birth of Our Saviour, comprehending a period of nearly 4000 years. Ranking in that class of historians who prefer the exercise of judgment in selection to that of genius in adorning, his industry and penetration are highly conspicuous, and his stile elegant and the best model of his age. His superior manner of treating Greek and Roman story, excites our regret that he has devoted so many pages to Jewish and Rabbinical

History of the World.

Rabbinical learning, and that he has not permitted himself a greater latitude in those more fascinating subjects [1].

The following letter, of which the original is preserved in the Cotton library [2], has been supposed by Dr. Thomas Smith to bear reference to a continuation of this history.

Letter to Sir R. Cotton.

"*Sigebert's Chronicles—Vincentis Speculum Historiale—Gervasius Tilesberius—Philip Bergomus—Natalis Talipes—Amandus Zirexens—Caius Londinius—John Major de Gestis Scotorum—Lessabius of Henault—Alex. Evesham—Brute Book—Chronicle of Teuxberry—Peter de Icham.*

"SIR ROBERT COTTON,

"IF you have any of these old books, or any manuscripts wherein I may find any of our British antiquities, if you please to lend them me for a little while, I will safely restore them and think myself much beholden unto you; or if you have any old French history wherein our nation is mentioned, or any else in what language soever.

Your poor friend,

W. RALEGH."

Anecdote.

In addition to this, a story is related, that a few days previously to his death, Ralegh sent for Walter Burre, who printed his history, and asking him how the work had sold, received for answer *so slowly that it had undone him.* Upon which Sir Walter brought from his desk a continuation of the work to his own time, and throwing it into the fire, said to Burre, *the second volume shall undo no more, this ungrateful world is unworthy of it* [3].

[1] See the Rambler, No. 122, Hume's Appendix to Jas. I. and the sensible Mitford, in his History of Greece, Chap. VII.

[2] Julius, C. 3.

[3] See Winstanley's England's Worthies, 8vo, 1660, p. 256-7.

It

It must be remembered, however, that there is no satisfactory authority for the truth of this anecdote; and it appears more probable that the letter to Sir Robert Cotton alludes to Ralegh's Breviary of the History of England, or to some other work which he never finished, than to the History of the World; a reference to the last lines of which, already quoted [4], may perhaps confirm the reader in this supposition.

Miscellaneous writings.

The subjects on which Sir Walter exercised his pen, are not less various than the characters he united in himself; and beside the large historical work already noticed, he has bequeathed us many shorter pieces on miscellaneous topics. When we view his actions, we are astonished at the number of his writings; viewing his writings, we wonder he found time for so much action.

Three years previously to the Spanish invasion, and when the designs of that court became apparent, he is supposed to have written Notes of Direction for the Defence of the Kingdom, and the best and most orderly Retreat of an Army, which were presented in manuscript to the privy-council. In this paper, after dwelling on the employment of our shipping in the first instance, he observed that, if in the absence or deficiency of the same the enemy effected a landing, it were better, by clearing the country of provisions and temporising, to endeavour to gain strength and weaken the enemy, than, in the usual manner, to hazard all by a confused and disorderly decent to oppose the first landing. Thomas Digges, Esq. Muster-master-general of Queen Elizabeth's forces in the Low-countries, opposed this and other positions in a pamphlet which he published [5]. This produced a rejoinder, also attributed to Sir Walter, but not published till many years afterward, intituled A Military Discourse, whether it be better for England to give an Invader present Battle, or to temporise and defer the same [6].

[4] See Chap. VIII.

[5] Intituled a Brief Discourse of the best Orders for Repulsing Foreign Forces, &c. reprinted under the title England's Defence, a treatise against Invasion, folio, 1680.

[6] Published by Nathaniel Booth, of Gray's Inn, Esq. 8vo, 1734, and comprising the whole of the controversy. See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 174.

Of the greater part of Sir Walter's miscellaneous pieces, sundry collections[7] have been made at different periods; among which, that published by Dr. Birch in two volumes, octavo, in the year 1751, is justly the best esteemed. In addition to the tracts relative to Guiana, and some smaller pieces presented to the reader in this work, it contains:

Maxims of State, a compendium of government, first published under the title, The Prince, Lond. 4to, 1642.

The Cabinet Council; containing the chief arts of empire and mysteries of state discabineted, in political and polemical aphorisms, grounded on authority and experience, and illustrated with the choicest examples and historical observations. First published by the celebrated Milton[8], in 8vo, 1658.

The Prerogative of Parliaments in England, proved in a dialogue between a counsellor of state and a justice of peace. Dedicated to King James, and first printed at Middleburg, 4to, 1628.

A Discourse, touching a match propounded by the Savoyan, between the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince of Piedmont. Written in 1611.

A Discourse, touching a marriage between Prince Henry of England and a daughter of Savoy. Written in 1611.

A Discourse, touching a war with Spain and of the protecting of the Netherlands. Addressed to James I. and first published with two more discourses by his grandson, Philip Ralegh, Esq. 8vo, 1702.

A Discourse, of the original and fundamental cause of natural, arbitrary, necessary, and unnatural war. First printed in his Essays, 8vo, 1650.

[7] Intituled Essays, Discourses, Remains, &c. of Sir Walter Ralegh.

[8] Milton prefixed this address to the reader. "Having had the MS. of this treatise, written by Sir Walter Ralegh, many years in my hands, and finding it lately by chance among other books and papers; upon reading thereof, I thought it a kind of injury to withhold longer the work of so eminent an author from the public. It being both answerable in stile to other works of his already extant, as far as the subject will permit, and given me for a true copy by a learned man at his death, who had collected several such pieces.—JOHN MILTON."

A Discourse

A Discourse, of the invention of ships, anchors, compass, &c., the first natural war, the several uses, defects and supplies of shipping, the strength and defects of the sea-forces of England, France, Spain and Venice; together with the five manifest causes of the sudden appearing of the Hollanders. An unfinished piece, first printed in his Essays, as above.

Observations concerning the royal navy and sea-service. Dedicated to Prince Henry, and first printed in his Essays, as above.

Observations touching trade and commerce with the Hollander and other nations, presented to King James; wherein is proved that our sea and land commodities serve to enrich and strengthen other countries against our own. Printed in 12mo, 1653[9].

An Introduction to a breviary of the History of England, with the reign of King William I. entitled the Conqueror. Published in 8vo, 1693, by Dr. John Moore (afterward Bishop of Ely) from the MSS. of Archbishop Sancroft, with a preface, by Dr. Moore[10].

The Seat of Government, upheld by the two great pillars thereof, *viz.* civil justice and martial policy, which are framed out of husbandry, merchandise and gentry of this kingdom. A fragment. First printed in his Remains, 12mo, 1651.

Observations concerning the causes of the magnificency and opulency of cities. A fragment, also printed in his Remains.

The Sceptic. Founded on the doctrine of Pyrrho, and printed in his Remains, as above.

These pieces are marked by those comprehensive and penetrating thoughts, that lively imagination, mature and exact judgment, which distinguish the productions of the knight. An evil destiny appears, however, to have attended the writings of this great man,

[9] It is questionable whether this piece be the production of Sir Walter Ralegh. See Oldys' Life, p. 180.

[10] Notwithstanding the Doctor's entire conviction that this piece is the *genuine issue* of Sir Walter, I have found reason at least to hesitate in my opinion, from having compared it with *the first part of the History of England, by Samuel Danyel, London, printed by Nicholas Okes, dwelling near Holborn-bridge*, 1612, in quarto.

as well as his actions. Even at the hands which presented the above pieces to the public, they cannot be said to have received that justice which a due attention to them might have afforded; and what is more to be regretted, it seems highly probable that many of Sir Walter's writings are yet unpublished. David Lloyd, in his State-worthies informs us that "Mr. Hampden, a little before the wars, was at the charge of transcribing 3452 sheets of *Ralegh's* MSS. as the amanuensis himself told *him*; who had his close chamber, his fire and candle, with an attendant to deliver him the originals and take his copies, as fast as he could write them[a]." I need not add, that the extant writings of Sir Walter, at that time unpublished, with which we are acquainted, appear to bear a small proportion to this quantity.

The following is a list of the pieces known and ascribed to the knight, yet omitted by Dr. Birch, which I have been able to collect the titles of:

A Report of the truth of the fight about the Isles of Azores, already noticed in Chap. III. of this work.

A Relation of Cadiz-action in the year 1596, printed at length in Chap. V. of this work.

A Discourse of tenures which were before the Conquest, namely knight-service, soccage and frankalmoign; and the effect of those tenures, wards, reliefs, heriots, escuage or warfaring by tenure, reservations of rent or victuals, and provisions or purveyors in the Saxon times; that the same estates in the soil of this land were due unto the subjects by birthright of their ancestors, the inhabitants of the land, before Duke William's time, namely, to have land in feesimple, freeholders, copyholders, customary tenants and villains, before the year 1066; together with the resemblances or disresemblances of those, in outlandish, ancient or modern estates.

[a] Observations on the Life of Sir W. R. in Whitworth's edit. (2 Vols. small 8vo, 1766) I. 565.

Printed

Printed in Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa from Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

A Discourse how war may be made against Spain and the Indies. Referred-to in the Discourse touching a war with Spain; but not known either in print or MS.

Memorial touching the port Dover, already noticed in Chap. VI. note 78, of this work.

Treatise of the West-Indies. Referred-to in the dedication to the first Guiana Voyage (See Chap. IV.) but not known either in print or MS.

Considerations of a Voyage to Guiana, MS. in the British Museum, (See Ayscough's Catalogue, p. 692, No. 1133.)

Journal of Second Voyage to Guiana. MS. in Cotton-library, (Titus, B. VIII.) being notes from which the Apology was written.

The present State of Spain, with a most accurate account of his Catholic Majesty's power and riches; also the names and worth of the most considerable persons in that kingdom. MS. noticed by Anthony Wood, and in Shirley's Life of Ralegh.

The present State of Things, as they now stand between the three kingdoms, France, England, and Spain. MS. in the Harleian Library (XXXVIII. B. 3.)

A Dialogue between a Jesuit and a Recusant, shewing how dangerous are their principles to Christian Princes. No. III. of Genuine Remains of Sir Walter Ralegh, subjoined to an Abridgement of his History of the World, by Philip Ralegh, Esq. only grandson to Sir Walter, 8vo, 1700.

A Discourse of the words Law and Right. MS. in the Ashmolean Library.

A Treatise of the Soul. MS. in the same library.

A Treatise of Mines, and the Trial of Minerals. MS. noticed by Anthony Wood.

A Collection of Chemical and Medicinal Receipts. MS. in the British Museum (See Ayscough's Catalogue, p. 492, No. 359.)

A Discourse of the Spaniards' Cruelties to the English in Havanna.

vanna. MS.; formerly in the Collection of Henry Earl of Clarendon.

A Treatise of the Art of War by Sea. Referred-to, as unfinished, in the History of the World (Lib. v. Chap. 1. Sect. 6.) but not known either in print or MS.

A Discourse of a maritimal Voyage, and the passages and incidents therein, addressed to Prince Henry. Referred-to in the Observations concernining the Royal Navy and Sea-service, but not known either in print or MS[12].

Poetry. From the specimens in our hands, it is plain that had Sir Walter made poetry a serious study, the attainment of excellence was in his power. Among the cotemporary criticisms of Puttenham, he finds *for ditty and amorous ode, Sir Walter Ralegh's vein most lofty, insolent, and passionate*[13]. It is to be regretted that no collection was formerly made of the knight's poetry, as the authority on which some pieces are ascribed to him is questionable. Those, however, which are presented to the reader in the I. III. and X. Chapters of this work, have been always looked-upon as his productions. To them might perhaps be added The Advice, The Lover's Maze, and Farewel to the Court, three pieces to be found in old printed collections subscribed W. R.; Erroris Responsio, Answer to the Lie, and other pieces in the Ashmolean Library; and Dulcina, The Excuse, and

[12] Certain publications not entitled to a place in the above list, yet to which Sir Walter's name has been appended, are noticed here. Such are

A notable and memorable Story of the cruel war between the Carthaginians and their own mercenaries, 4to, 1647. A republication of the History of the World Lib. V. Chap. 2, &c.

Wars with foreign princes dangerous, 8vo, 165-, by Sir Robert Cotton. To which a head of Sir Walter was at first improperly prefixed.

The Dutiful Advice of a Loving Son to his aged Father. Printed in Ralegh's Remains, as written by him, but more probably a libel upon him by one of his enemies. (See Birch's Works of Ralegh, Prolegomena, p. cv.)

The Life and Death of Mahomet, the Conquest of Spain, together with the rising and ruin of the Saracen Empire, 12mo, 1637. An abstract, or translation of an abstract made in Spanish. of Part I. Book I. and Part II. Book I. of Miguel de Luna's History of the Loss of Spain, pretended to be translated from the Arabic of Abulcacim Tarif Abentarique.

[13] See The Art of English Poesy, contrived into three books, 4to, 1589. p. 51,

another

another short poem, printed as farther specimens of his poetry in the Appendix to this work [14].

Among the verses inscribed by Spenser, at the end of his Fairy Queen, to several great men of Elizabeth's court, are the following *to the noble and valorous knight Sir Walter Ralegh.* Oldys infers from them, that Sir Walter wrote a poem intituled Cynthia, in praise of the queen; a conclusion, in which, perhaps, few readers will think him warranted.

To thee that art the summer's nightingale,
Thy sovereign goddess' most dear delight,
Why do I send this rustic madrigal
That may thy tuneful ear unseason quite?
Thou only fit this argument to write,
In whose high thoughts pleasure hath built her bow'r
And dainty love learnt sweetly to indite.
My rhimes I know unsavoury and sour,
To taste the streams, that like a golden show'r
Flow from thy fruitful head, of thy love's praise,
Fitter perhaps to thunder martial store
When so thee list thy lofty muse to raise.
Yet till that thou thy poem wilt make known,
Let thy fair Cynthia's praises be thus rudely shewn.

Osborn has preserved the following epitaph on Cecil, which, he adds *came from so smart a pen in the king's sense, that he said he hoped the author would die before him* [15]. Shirley also repeats it in his Life of Ralegh, and asserts *he was assured upon very good grounds*, that the knight wrote it.

Here lies Hobinol, our pastor, while e'er,
That once in a quarter our fleeces did shear.
To please us, his cur he kept under clog,
And was ever after both shepherd and dog.
For oblation to Pan his custom was thus,
He first gave a trifle, then offer'd up us.

And

[14] No. XIX. Dr. Birch and others have likewise ascribed to Sir Walter the poem beginning *Go soul the body's guest*, and suppose it to have been written by the knight shortly before his execution. It however, appeared in Davison's *Poetical Rapsodie*, ten years before that time; and is also printed among the works of Joshua Sylvester, folio, 1641, p. 652.

[15] Miscellaneous Works, II. 140.

The

And through his false worship such power did gain
As kept him o'th' mountain and us on the plain;
Where many a horn-pipe he tun'd to his Phyllis,
And sweetly sung Walsingham to's Amaryllis,
Till Atropos c— him, a p— on the drab,
For, spite of his tar-box, he died of the s— [16].

Music.

The sister art of music also appears to have had her share of Sir Walter Ralegh's devotion. Oldys observes that an old book by an Oxonian, intituled The Praise of Music [17], is dedicated to him *not without propriety*; adding he had met with hints of the knight's proficiency in the art, and was of opinion that Spenser's expression

Yet emuling my pipe, &c.

already quoted in Chap. III. is to be understood in a literal sense [18].

Patron of learning.

With a mind thus highly cultivated, we naturally expect to find Sir Walter feeling an interest in every expansion and improvement of art or science. The ravages of time, however they may have impaired our information, have not been able to disappoint our expectations in this particular; and many testimonies still exist, of the esteem in which the knight was held in his day, abroad as well as at home, as a patron of science and improvement. In addition to the works inscribed to him by his countrymen, some of which have occurred to notice in these pages, the learned Martin Bassaniere of Paris, and Julius Cæsar, a citizen of Rome, dedicated to Sir Walter, the former a History of the Discovery of Florida,

[16] Shirley adds, *if the reader desires a key to these verses, he may meet with it in Osborn's Memoirs, who yet, for all his intelligence, hath not informed us that his mistress' name was Walsingham.* Osborn also gives us another epitaph on Cecil:

Here lies, thrown for the worms to eat,
Little bossive Robin that was so great;
Not Robin Goodfellow nor Robin Hood,
But Robin the encloser of Hatfield-wood.
Who seem'd as sent from ugly fate
To spoil the prince and rob the state,
Owning a mind of dismal ends,
As traps for foes and tricks for friends.
But now in Hatfield lies the old fox,
Who stank while he liv'd, and died of the p—.

[17] Black-letter, 8vo, 1586.

[18] Life of Ralegh, p. 34.

which

which he published in French[19], the latter a book intituled Columbeados, alluding probably to his American expeditions[20]. James Morgues, a French painter, appears to have experienced his patronage during his residence in London[21]; and at the time of his greatest troubles, Sir Walter contributed £.50 toward improving the infant Bodleian Library[22]. Of his encouragement of Hakluyt, the naval historian, we have several testimonies[23]; and lastly, it may be noticed in this place, that the knight was a member of a society of antiquaries existing in his time[24].

Charge of impiety.

After this short survey of Sir Walter's proficiency in, and patronage of learning, it is incumbent on us to examine, more fully than we have hitherto had opportunity, into such aspersions as, like other distinguished characters, he has not escaped; and which, if substantiated, would retract from the merit with which, at a general view, he appears to posterity. Among these, not the least conspicuous, is the reproach of impiety already hinted at.

About the time of Sir Walter's birth, some gentlemen in France and Italy, desirous of disguising their opposition to Christianity by a more honourable appellation than that of atheists, assumed the name of Deists. The distinguishing character of this sect, subsequently so greatly enlarged, and distinguished also by the appellation of free-thinkers, is, not to profess any particular form or system of religion; but only to acknowledge the existence of a God, and to follow the light and law of nature, rejecting revelation and opposing Christianity. Rare as these philosophers were in England during the lifetime of Sir Walter Ralegh, he has not escaped the suspicion of being one

[19] L'Histoire Notable de la Floride, &c. 8vo, Paris, 1586. The Dedication is followed by verses in Latin and French on Sir Walter.

[20] See Appendix, No. I. and II.

[21] Ibid. No. II.

[22] See Sir Thomas Bodley's letter to Dr. Thomas James, the first keeper of his library, in Reliquiæ Bodleianæ, published by Hearne, 8vo, 1703, p. 138.

[23] See Hakluyt's preface to the first edition of his Voyages, Sir Walter's History of the World, Lib. II. c. 3. sect. 8. and App. No. II.

[24] See Oldy's Life of Ralegh, p. 130. In the Appendix to a History of the Inventors of Arts and Sciences, 12mo, 1686, we read that we owe the serviceable model of our modern ship-building, to the invention or direction of the knight; to which purpose, probably, is a grant by Queen Elizabeth, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, intituled *a Warrant to Sir Walter Ralegh for 200 Oaks to be taken in Sir Francis Eaglesfiela's woods.*

of them, though the fact has never been proved; while the spleen of father Parsons (as we have seen in Chap. III.) on account of the knight's probable instrumentality in framing Queen Elizabeth's proclamation against popish seminaries abroad, went so far as to charge him with the propagation of atheism.

The character of that Jesuit is too well known, to allow of the attachment of much credit to his assertion; especially in a case like this, where his bigotry was so likely to prevail. Ill-fame is, however, too adhesive, that such an opinion, once started, should speedily be forgotten; and it is perfectly natural, that, in the adversity of his fortune, this aspersion on the knight should be remembered, as we have seen it was at his trial. The circumstance too of Sir Walter's Sherborne estate being formerly the property of the church, and assigned to Queen Elizabeth from the see of Salisbury, is supposed to have contributed not a little to this scandal.

"Sir Walter Ralegh (says Osborn) was the first, as I have heard, that ventured to tack-about and sail aloof from the beaten track of the schools. Who, upon the discovery of so apparent an error as a torrid zone, intended to proceed in an inquisition after more solid truths. Till the mediation of some, whose livelihood lay in hammering shrines for this superannuated study, possessed Queen Elizabeth that such doctrine was against God, no less than her father's honour; whose faith, if he owned any, was grounded upon school-divinity. Whereupon she chid him; who was, by his own confession, ever-after branded with the title of an atheist, though a known assertor of God and providence *."

The ill-defined and unsupported state of this imputation, is, of itself, an argument that it originated in calumny and misrepresentation. But, under the difficulties in which we meet it at this remote period, what more striking vindication of the knight shall we seek, in addition to the manner in which he died, than that his writings contain no trace of such opinions; on the contrary, his History of the World, in

* Preface to Miscellany of sundry Essays, Paradoxes, &c. in Miscellaneous Works, Vol. I.

particular,

particular, breathes a strong and genuine spirit of piety. I know no better conclusion to the enquiry, than the words of Sewell on the occasion, in the tragedy which he has formed on Ralegh's story.

" But 'tis the curse and fashion of the times—
When prejudice and strong aversions work,
All whose opinions we dislike are atheists.
Now 'tis a term of art, a bug-bear word,
The villain's engine and the vulgar's terror.
The man who thinks and judges for himself,
Unsway'd by aged follies, rev'rend errors,
Grown holy by traditionary dulness
Of school-authority, he is an atheist.
The man who, hating idle noise, preserves
A pure religion seated in his soul,
He is a silent, dumb, dissembling atheist.

* * * * * * * * *

——————So men judge at home,
Who never trac'd a providence at sea,
And saw his wonders in the mighty deep.
An atheist-sailor were a monstrous thing,
More wonderful than all old Ocean breeds.
But I will witness for my Ralegh's faith;
Yes, I have seen him when the tempest rag'd,
When from the precipice of mountain-waves
All hearts have trembled at the gulph below,
He, with a steady, supplicating look,
Display'd his trust in that tremendous pow'r,
Who curbs the billows, and cuts-short the wings
Of the rude whirlwind in its midway course,
And bids the madness of the waves to cease[26]."

In examining the aspersions which have been cast on the character of Sir Walter Ralegh, our attention is naturally attracted by a late Hume's observations.

[26] Act I. Scene I.

celebrated writer, who, but too plainly discovers himself to have been a countryman of King James; and that he felt that monarch's conduct to the knight to have been a material blemish in his reign. With a just sense of Mr. David Hume's merit on many of the subjects which have engaged his attention, I feel bound on the present occasion, to avow my opinion, that the picture he has drawn of the reign of James I. is, to say the least of it, *a bad likeness*. My concern, however, is only with that part of it which bears reference to Sir Walter Ralegh, whom I find Mr. Hume to have placed in a light peculiarly unfavourable; and as, from the popularity of his History, the knight's character may have suffered with posterity, by his representation, an enquiry into the justice of it may not be deemed improper in this place.

It will be found by the foregoing pages, and the authorities which they refer to, that Mr. Hume, in his History of Elizabeth, has not always been accurate in his incidental notices of Ralegh; a circumstance which may easily have arisen from his not being at the pains, as a general historian, of entering minutely into the life of an individual [27]. In the first chapter, however, of the reign of her successor, he is bold enough to inform us, *it appears from Sully's Memoirs that Ralegh secretly offered his services to the French ambassador*. From which Mr. Hume presumes, that, *meeting with a repulse*, Ralegh had recourse to the Flemish minister; yet he confesses, that on his trial there appeared no proof, nor any circumstance which could justify the knight's condemnation [28].

Referring the reader to Sir Walter's introduction to Sully, in 1601, (noticed in Chap. VI.) I transcribe the following passage, the only one in Sully's Memoirs which could lead Mr. Hume to his conclusion.

[27] Thus, Mr. Hume insinuates, that Sir Walter came to the Tower *on purpose* to feast his eyes with Essex's death; whereas, he attended in his capacity of Captain of the Guard, and shed tears on the occasion. Again, Mr. Hume writes very severely on Sir Walter's first Voyage to Guiana, and refers to p. 584, of Camden's Annals in Kennet's History for his authority; on referring to which page, the reader will find that the antiquary authorises no such severity, *&c.*

[28] Hume's Hist. Eng. 8vo edition, 1791, Vol. VI. p. 9.

I then

I then request him to recollect Ralegh's enmity to Spain, and to decide for himself how far the historian was warranted in his imputation regarding France; also, whether this passage afford not a strong argument against the plot with Spain, of which the knight was accused.

"I now only wanted (the ambassador writes) to be as well acquainted with the Spanish councils, as I was with those of Britain and the North. Or, in other words, I wanted only to know what were the real designs of that crown, what propositions she had already made to the King of England, how they had been received; and finally, what steps she intended to take for the accomplishment of her desires. For barely to understand that the King of Spain sought to detach England from France, and the Low-countries, was knowing nothing, or at most very little. It was suspected that Spain meditated something of much greater importance. This might be conjectured from the information which I had already received from the canon at Canterbury; and it appeared so much the less to be neglected, because Aërsens and Barneveldt both at the same time affirmed the certainty of it, the one at Paris, the other at London. I therefore used my utmost endeavours to come at the truth. What I was told by My Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh was conformable to this information. But what made the greatest impression upon me was, that the Earl of Northumberland, whom I had gained by the offer of a considerable pension, under the name of a present, with great secrecy one night, when I was going to bed, sent his secretary to acquaint me with the following particulars, *&c.*[29]"

Sir Walter's last voyage to Guiana, his return and death, are related by Mr. Hume at the beginning of the 48th Chapter of his History, in a spirit of prejudice against the knight sufficient to fix his doom with every superficial reader. In a note[30], however, at the end of the volume, we are informed, that *some of the facts in this narrative which seem to condemn Ralegh, are taken from the king's Declaration*, which Mr.

[29] Sully's Memoirs, Ann. 1605.

[30] Note I. Vol. VI. p. 555.

Hume

Hume concludes to be of *undoubted credit*. This assertion must astonish every reader, who reflects on the circumstances under which that paper was written. Would it not, on the contrary, be more just to assert, that Mr. Hume's use of it invalidates the whole of his narrative?

Yet the historian stops not here, but proceeds to inform us in the same note, that the most material facts in his narrative *are confirmed either by the nature and reason of the thing, or by Sir Walter's own Apology, and his Letters*. This he is at much pains to prove by seventeen arguments, which, as the facts are said to be *thus* confirmed, I have, for the satisfaction of such readers as may feel curiosity on the subject, examined at length in the Appendix[31], and have there, I hope, sufficiently proved, that they are the offspring of prejudice, superficial information on the subject, or wilful misrepresentation of it.

Ambiguity of character.

It is more difficult to appreciate with justice the character of Sir Walter Ralegh, than to decry it upon a view thus prejudiced and confined. For, alas! no sooner do we attempt a more *intimate* enquiry into his life and actions, than here, as on many other occasions, we are astonished at the barrenness of the subject so important in biography, the detail of private life; and are speedily compelled to confess, that, however interesting his public transactions, the character under our contemplation, has been handed-down to us in considerable ambiguity.

Union of characters.

"Sir Walter Ralegh (says Naunton) was one that, it seems, fortune had picked-out on purpose of whom to make an example and to use as her tennis-ball, thereby to shew what she could do; for she tossed him up of nothing, and to-and-fro to greatness, and from thence down to little more than to that wherein she found him, a bare gentleman[32]." Soldier, seaman, statesman, scholar, poet, and philosopher, we may challenge a similar instance in modern ages of that union of characters, more frequent among the ancients, which distinguished Sir Walter Ralegh; a union on the excellence of which

[31] No. XX.

[32] Fragmenta Regalia.

much

much might be written, were we not silenced by the reflexion, that the corresponding union of talent and opportunity can rarely occur. Master of every accomplishment requisite to defend a state in war as well as to adorn it in peace, a warlike reign was safety to him, a peaceful one destruction. He affords a memorable example that a martial spirit, under an active and adventurous prince, shall find honour and emulation; but if the prince be of a contrary character, his unfashionable virtue, unless it can mould itself to occasions, shall be criminal, and his courage of less security than cowardice.

Amid the various interests arising by various favourites in the long reign of Elizabeth, no man enjoys the credit of being less immersed by the smiles of the court in the luxuries of it; while no one converted its frowns to greater utility, by being animated by them to enterprise the most honourable.

"Though he gained much at the court, (says Naunton) he took it not out of the exchequer, or merely out of the queen's purse, but by his wit and by the help of the prerogative. For the queen was never profuse in delivering out of her treasure, but paid most and many of her servants part in money and the rest with grace; which, as the case stood, was then taken for good payment [33]." That he could never condescend to court the people by the usual arts, is noticed by Lord Burleigh, in a breath with Essex's affectation of popularity, among his precepts to his son Cecil. "Seek not (he writes) to be Essex, shun to be Ralegh [34]."

In addition to the instances already noticed in the cases of Mr. Udall and Sir Richard Greenville of the knight's zeal in the cause of friendship, we may presume many remain unrecorded. Having told Queen Elizabeth he had a favour to beg of her, *when, Sir Walter*, said Her Majesty, *will you cease to be a beggar? When Your Gracious Majesty ceases to be a benefactor*, replied the gallant knight [35]. A farther

Zeal in friendship.

[33] Fragmenta Regalia.

[34] See Birch's Life of Ralegh, p. 18.

[35] See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 59. Lord Bacon has preserved two more *bon mots* of Sir Walter. He said of Queen Elizabeth's ladies of the bed-chamber, *they are like witches, can*

farther instance of this zeal occurs in the following letter from him, to Mr. (afterward Sir) Michael Hicks, secretary to Lord Burleigh.

"WORTHY MR. MICHAEL,

"I am most earnestly to entreat you for this gentleman, Captain Spring, that, partly for love, partly for honest consideration, you will farther him with my lord-treasurer for a debt of £.300 which Her Majesty doth owe him. It hath been long due, and he hath good warrant for it. Beside, he hath served Her Majesty very long, and hath received many wounds in her service. These reasons delivered by a man of your utterance, and having his good angel at your elbow to instruct you, I doubt not but it will take good and speedy effect.————I never wrote unto you for any man or in any matter, wherein you shall more bind me unto you, than for this bearer. And so, not doubting of your assured friendliness, I leave you to God, and remain,

Your most assured, loving friend,

From Sherborne,
July 12th.

W. RALEGH."

P. S. Always remember you must deal conscionably for my sake, and I will requite it[36]."

Conspiracy.

On that remarkable incident in Sir Walter's history, commonly called his conspiracy, I am inclined to concur with Dr. Welwood in

can do harm but no good. And, when a certain lean nobleman grew fat upon his marriage, and a person observed this was contrary to most married men, *there is no beast*, said Sir Walter, *if you take it from the common and put it into the several but will wax fat* (Apophthegms 33. and 250.)

[36] See Collins' Baronetage, 8vo, 1720, II. 56. Strype received the letter from Cecil's descendants. See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 59, note c.

the

the opinion he has given us in his ingenious notes[37] upon Wilson's History. Though James forgot the death of his mother, he seems never to have forgiven the enemies of Essex; of which Cecil and Ralegh were probably both aware, but took contrary measures to avoid his resentment. While Cecil maintained his correspondence with James, Ralegh trusted in the justice of his conduct; and, content with the favour of Elizabeth, which he enjoyed to her death, took no steps to conciliate her successor. Knowing Cecil to have been at least equally concerned with himself in the fall of Essex, his great mind could perhaps not brook the distinction made by their new master on his accession; especially when heightened by the frowns of Cecil upon his once-intimate friend. With a temper impatient of injuries, and unequal, notwithstanding his excellent qualities, to a reverse of fortune like this, Sir Walter was thus probably brought acquainted with others, discontent like himself, though of different religions and interests; and perhaps more conversations than one might arise relative to recourse to foreign powers to amend their fortunes, and even Arabella Stuart's name be mentioned by Ralegh as one who had a near title to the crown. But that he ever entered into the designs imputed to him at his trial, no person of competent judgment, at that time or since, can have believed.

Singular talents, with great success in the assertion of them, gained Sir Walter the distinction which might have been expected in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; not however, as might likewise have been expected, without an host of opposition amid the various interests of her court. Although fortunate enough to combat that host with considerable success, yet a mighty favourite of both the monarchs in the reigns in which he lived, was not sacrificed by the former of them without a memorable impression upon the latter. In the reign of the second, a weak prince, the ascendency which the

[37] Complete History of England, II. 663.

party adverse to him had gained by intrigue, founded in policy to a criminal extreme, was able to bring him to a legal trial for high-treason, and even to condemn him for the crime without proof of guilt. Too timorous either to execute him unjustly or to allow his innocence and grant his freedom, that monarch made him suffer more than death by his long imprisonment. Released at last in the hope that his country should be benefited by his experience and his spirit of enterprise, the failure of his expedition caused him to be sacrificed by a mean and corrupt court, to a foreign power holding an absolute ascendant in the councils over the true interests of the nation.

Person. By the paintings extant of Sir Walter Ralegh, his stature was about six feet and his person well proportioned. "He had in the outward man (says Naunton) a good presence in a handsome and well-compacted person, a strong natural wit and a better judgment, with a bold and plausible tongue, whereby he could set-out his parts to the best advantage[38]." His profusion in dress on particular occasions, was perhaps in conformity with the custom of his age. We are told that in Queen Elizabeth's reign he possessed a suit of clothes beset with jewels to the value of sixty thousand pounds[39]; and the Jesuit Drexellius informs us, that the precious stones on his court-shoes exceeded six thousand six hundred pieces of gold in value[40].

Wife. Elizabeth, the only wife of Sir Walter, appears, by an extant portrait of her, to have been a lady of considerable beauty. She is supposed to have been about eighteen years younger than the knight, and she survived him twenty-nine years[41]. Two sons, Walter and Carew, are the only fruits of this marriage with which posterity are

[38] Fragmenta Regalia. Of the engravings of Sir Walter, that by Vertue in 1735, from an original then in the possession of the Elwes-family, Sir Walter's descendants, is the finest and most characteristic; it has therefore been copied for the present work. Houbraken's engraving, though better known, is far inferior, and appears to me to have been taken from a full-length, at present in the collection at Burleigh-house, near Stamford.

[39] See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 145.

[40] See Trismegistus Christianus, Duaci 8vo, 1633, p. 469.

[41] See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 145, 230.

acquainted.

acquainted. Her strong and faithful attachment to her husband through life, it appears was confirmed by her not entering again into wedlock after his death.

Walter was born in 1594 [42] and killed at twenty-three years of age, as we have seen, at St. Thome. At the age of twenty he was obliged to fly the kingdom, on account of a duel in which he had been engaged [43]; and in the skirmish in which he lost his life, he appears to have behaved with great bravery. Son Walter.

Carew was born in 1604-5, educated at Wadham-college, Oxford, and came to court about five years after his father's death under the patronage of the Earl of Pembroke. King James disliking him, and saying *he appeared to him like the ghost of his father*, the Earl advised him to travel till the king's death, which took place about a year afterward. Mr. Ralegh then petitioned parliament to be restored in blood. But, when his petition had been twice read in the House of Lords, King Charles sent for him, received him kindly, and told him, that in his father's reign he had, for a consideration of £. 10,000, promised the Earl of Bristol (formerly Sir John Digby) to secure his title to Sherborne against Sir Walter Ralegh's heirs; therefore, unless he resigned all right to that estate, he could not pass the bill for his restoration. The inconveniences attending his situation, promises of preferment, &c. induced the friendless and fortuneless Carew to submit to the king's will. An act was passed for his restoration, Sherborne was settled on the Earl of Bristol, and a pension of £.400 a-year granted for his life to Mr. Ralegh after the death of his mother, who received that sum for her life in lieu of jointure [44]. Son Carew.

He married Lady Philippa, relict of Sir Antony Ashley, a rich young widow, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. Before the year 1635, he was made one of the gentlemen of the king's

[42] See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 145. [43] See Chap. VIII. [44] See Appendix, No. X.

privy-chamber; and in 1651, a committee being held for the sale of delinquents' estates, and the Earl of Bristol being fled about the same time to France, Mr. Ralegh stated his case to the committee, and it was ordered to be reported to the house, with the addition, that *they conceived him a fit object of their mercy*. About the same time he drew-up his Brief Relation of his Father's Troubles, and addressed it to the parliament. His case and petition were, however, laid aside; for what reason, does not appear.

By the favour of General Monk he was made Governor of Jersey, in 1659. At the restoration of Charles I. His Majesty would have conferred some personal honour upon him, but he declined it *in the hope of something better*. The king therefore knighted his elder son Walter, who did not long survive the honour. Mr. Carew Ralegh died in 1666, and was buried, with his father's head in his coffin, at West Horsley, in Surry, where he had a seat. Sir Henry Wotton calls him *a gentleman of dexterous abilities*, and honourable mention is made of him by other writers; *but far, God wot*, says Anthony Wood, *was he from his father's parts, either as to the sword or pen*[45].

Sir Walter Ralegh's Instructions to his Son and to Posterity, are, perhaps, the fittest conclusion with which I can dismiss the present work. They will bring the reader acquainted with the knight's opinions on a few of the ordinary subjects of common life; and instruction on these subjects comes peculiarly well recommended from one of his experience.

[45] See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 171, note *e*, and p. 230, note *b*.

Sir

Sir WALTER RALEGH's *Instructions to his Son, and to Posterity.*

CHOICE OF FRIENDS.

Instructions to his Son, and to Posterity.

" THERE is nothing more becoming any wise man than to make choice of friends; for by them thou shalt be judged what thou art. Let them therefore be wise and virtuous, and none of those that follow thee for gain. But make election rather of thy betters than thy inferiors, shunning always such as are poor and needy. For if thou givest twenty gifts, and refuse to do the like but once, all that thou hast done will be lost, and such men will become thy mortal enemies. Take also special care, that thou never trust any friend or servant, with any matter that may endanger thine estate; for so shalt thou make thyself a bond-slave to him that thou trustest, and leave thyself always to his mercy. And be sure of this, thou shalt never find a friend in thy young years, whose conditions and qualities will please thee after thou comest to more discretion and judgment; and then all thou givest is lost, and all wherein thou shalt trust such a one will be discovered. Such therefore as are thy inferiors will follow thee but to eat thee out, and when thou leavest to feed them they will hate thee; and such kind of men, if thou preserve thy estate, will always be had. And if thy friends be of better quality than thyself, thou mayest be sure of two things; the first, that they will be more careful to keep thy counsel, because they have more to lose than thou hast; the second, they will esteem thee for thyself, and not for that which thou dost possess. But if thou be subject to any great vanity or ill, (from which I hope God will bless thee) then therein trust no man; for every man's folly ought to be his greatest secret. And although I persuade thee to associate thyself with thy betters,

betters, or at least with thy peers, yet remember always that thou venture not thy estate with any of those great ones that shall attempt unlawful things, for such men labour for themselves and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to part with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a sure estate in present, in hope of a better in future, is mere madness. And great men forget such as have done them service when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a means of their advancement than acknowledge it.

I could give thee a thousand examples, and I myself know it and have tasted it in all the course of my life. When thou shalt read and observe the stories of all nations, thou shalt find innumerable examples of the like. Let thy love therefore be to the best, so long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy country, thy prince, and thine own estate, before all others; for the fancies of men change, and he that loves to-day, hateth to-morrow; but let reason be thy school-mistress, which shall ever guide thee aright.

CHOICE OF A WIFE.

The next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a wife. And the only danger therein, is beauty, by which all men in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever resisted that witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other things which may be thy ruin and destruction. For the present time, it is true, that every man prefers his fantasy in that appetite before all other worldly desires, leaving the care of honour, credit, and safety in respect thereof. But remember, that though these affections do not last, yet the bond of marriage dureth to the end of thy life; and therefore better to be borne withal in a mistress, than in a wife. For when

thy

thy humour shall change, thou art yet free to chuse again, (if thou give thyself that vain liberty.) Remember, secondly, that if thou marry for beauty, thou bindest thyself all thy life for that, which perchance will never last nor please thee one year; and when thou hast it, it will be to thee of no price at all, for the desire dieth when it is attained, and the affection perisheth when it is satisfied. Remember, when thou wert a sucking child, that then thou didst love thy nurse, and that thou wert fond of her; after a while thou didst love thy dry-nurse, and didst forget the other; after that thou didst also despise her; so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder years. And therefore, though thou canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to link, after a while thou shalt find an alteration in thyself, and see another far more pleasing than the first, second or third love. Yet I wish thee, above all the rest, have a care thou dost not marry an uncomely woman for any respect; for comeliness in children is riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy races of horses and other beasts, value the shape and comeliness of thy children before alliances or riches. Have care therefore of both together; for if thou have a fair wife, and a poor one, if thine own estate be not great, assure thyself that love abideth not with want; for she is the companion of plenty and honour. For I never yet knew a poor woman exceeding fair, that was not made dishonest by one or other in the end. This Bathsheba taught her son Solomon, *favour is deceitful, and beauty is vanity*; she saith farther, *that a wise woman overseeth the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.*

Have therefore evermore care, that thou be beloved of thy wife, rather than thyself besotted on her; and thou shalt judge of her love by these two observations. First, if thou perceive she have a care of thy estate, and exercise herself therein; the other, if she study to please thee and be sweet unto thee in conversation, without thy instruction, for love needs no teaching nor precept. On the other side, be not sour or stern to thy wife; for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred. Let her have equal part of thy estate while thou livest,

livest, if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest it to a stranger, and most times to an enemy. For he that shall marry thy wife, will despise thee, thy memory, and thine, and shall possess the quiet of thy labours, the fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy love, and spend with joy and ease what thou hast spared and gotten with care and travail. Yet always remember, that thou leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy estate; especially if thou hast few children, and them provided for. But howsoever it be, or whatsoever thou find, leave thy wife no more than of necessity thou must, but only during her widowhood. For if she love again, let her not enjoy her second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee, nor fly to future pleasures with those feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy estate to thy house and children, in which thou livedst upon earth while it lasted. To conclude; wives were ordained to continue the generation of men, not to transfer them, and diminish them, either in continuance or ability; and therefore thy house and estate, which liveth in thy son, and not in thy wife, is to be preferred.

Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and strong years; for believe it, ever the young wife betrayeth the old husband, and she that had thee not in thy flower will despise thee in thy fall, and thou shalt be unto her but a captivity and sorrow. Thy best time will be toward thirty. For as the younger times are unfit, either to chuse or to govern a wife and family, so if thou stay long, thou shalt hardly see the education of thy children, which being left to strangers, are in effect lost. And better were it to be unborn, than ill-bred; for thereby thy posterity shall either perish, or remain a shame to thy name and family. Farthermore, if it be late ere thou take a wife, thou shalt spend thy prime and summer of thy life with harlots, destroy thy health, impoverish thy estate, and endanger thy life; and be sure of this, that how many mistresses soever thou hast, so many enemies thou shalt purchase to thyself; for there never was any such affection,

affection, which ended not in hatred or disdain. Remember the saying of Solomon, *there is a way which seemeth right to a man, but the issues thereof are the wages of death*; for howsoever a lewd woman please thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee. If thou canst not abstain from them in thy vain and unbridled times, yet remember that thou sowest on the sands, and dost mingle thy vital blood with corruption, and purchasest diseases, repentance, and hatred only. Bestow, therefore, thy youth so, that thou mayst have comfort to remember it when it hath forsaken thee, and not sigh and grieve at the account thereof. While thou art young thou wilt think it will never have an end; but behold, the longest day hath his evening, and that thou shalt enjoy it but once, that it never turns again. Use it therefore as the spring-time, which soon departeth, and wherein thou oughtest to plant and sow all provisions for a long and happy life.

FLATTERERS.

Take care thou be not made a fool by flatterers, for even the wisest men are abused by these. Know, therefore, that flatterers are the worst kind of traitors; for they will strengthen thy imperfections, encourage thee in all evils, correct thee in nothing, but so shadow and paint all thy vices and follies, as thou shalt never, by their will discern evil from good, or vice from virtue. And because all men are apt to flatter themselves, to entertain the additions of other men's praises is most perilous. Do not therefore praise thyself, except thou wilt be counted a vain-glorious fool, neither take delight in the praises of other men, except thou deserve it, and receive it from such as are worthy and honest, and will withal warn thee of thy faults; for flatterers have never any virtue, they are ever base, creeping, cowardly persons. A flatterer is said to be a beast that biteth smiling; it is said by Isaiah in this manner, *my people, they that praise thee, seduce*

thee and disorder the paths of thy feet. And David desired God to cut out the tongue of a flatterer. But it is hard to know them from friends, they are so obsequious, and full of protestations; for a wolf resembles a dog, so doth a flatterer a friend. A flatterer is compared to an ape, who, because she cannot defend the house like a dog, labour as an ox, or bear burdens as a horse, doth therefore yet play tricks and provoke laughter. Thou mayst be sure that he that will in private tell thee thy faults, is thy friend, for he adventures thy mislike, and doth hazard thy hatred; for there are few men that can endure it, every man, for the most part, delighting in self-praise, which is one of the most universal follies which bewitcheth mankind.

QUARRELS.

Be careful to avoid public disputations at feasts, or at tables among choleric or quarrelsome persons; and eschew evermore to be acquainted, or familiar with ruffians. For thou shalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel as in a battle, wherein thou mayst get honour to thyself, and safety to thy prince and country. But if thou be once engaged, carry thyself bravely, that they may fear thee after. To shun therefore private fight, be well advised in thy words and behaviour; for honour and shame is in the talk, and the tongue of a man causeth him to fall.

Jest not openly at those that are simple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any woman publicly, though thou know her to be evil; for those that are faulty, cannot endure to be taxed, but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty, cannot endure unjust reproach. And as there is nothing more shameful and dishonest, than to do wrong, so truth itself cutteth his throat that carrieth her publicly in every place. Remember the divine saying, *he that keepeth his mouth, keepeth his life.*

Do

Do therefore right to all men, where it may profit them, and thou shalt thereby get much love; and forbear to speak evil things of men, though it be true (if thou be not constrained) and thereby thou shalt avoid malice and revenge.

Do not accuse any man of any crime, if it be not to save thyself, thy prince, or country; for there is nothing more dishonourable (next to treason itself) than to be an accuser. Notwithstanding, I would not have thee, for any respect, lose thy reputation, or endure public disgrace; for better it were not to live than to live a coward, if the offence proceed not from thyself. If it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good terms, than to hazard thyself; for if thou overcome, thou art under the cruelty of the law, if thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonoured. If thou therefore contend, or discourse in argument, let it be with wise and sober men, of whom thou must learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant persons; for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee, and utter what they have learned from thee for their own; but if thou know more than other men, utter it when it may do thee honour, and not in assemblies of ignorant and common persons.

Speaking much also, is a sign of vanity; for he that is lavish in words, is a niggard in deeds; and as Solomon saith, *the mouth of a wise man is in his heart, the heart of a fool is in his mouth, because what he knoweth or thinketh, he uttereth.* And by thy words and discourses men will judge thee. For as Socrates saith, *such as thy words are, such will thy affections be esteemed; and such will thy deeds as thy affections, and such thy life as thy deeds.* Therefore be advised what thou dost discourse of, and what thou maintainest; whether touching religion, state, or vanity; for if thou err in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane; if in the second, dangerous; if in the third, indiscreet and foolish. He that cannot refrain from much speaking, is like a city without walls, and less pains in the world a man cannot take, than to hold his tongue; therefore if thou observest this rule in all assemblies, thou shalt seldom err. Restrain thy

choler, hearken much, and speak little; for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good, and greatest evil that is done in the world.

According to Solomon, *life and death are in the power of the tongue*; and as Euripides truly affirmeth, *every unbridled tongue in the end shall find itself unfortunate*; for in all that ever I observed in the course of worldly things, I ever found that men's fortunes are oftener made by their tongues than by their virtues, and more men's fortunes overthrown thereby also, than by their vices. And to conclude, all quarrels, mischief, hatred, and destruction, arise from unadvised speech; and in much speech there are many errors, out of which thy enemies shall ever take the most dangerous advantage. And as thou shalt be happy, if thou thyself observe these things, so shall it be most profitable for thee to avoid their companies that err in that kind, and not to hearken to tale-bearers, to inquisitive persons, and such as busy themselves with other men's estates, that creep into houses as spies, to learn news which concerns them not; for, assure thyself, such persons are most base and unworthy, and I never knew any of them prosper, or respected among worthy or wise men.

Take heed also that thou be not found a liar; for a lying spirit is hateful both to God and man. A liar is commonly a coward; for he dares not avow truth. A liar is trusted of no man, he can have no credit, neither in public nor private; and if there were no more arguments than this, know that Our Lord in St. John saith, *that it is a vice proper to Satan*, lying being opposite to the nature of God, which consisteth in truth; and the gain of lying is nothing else, but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the truth. It is said in the Proverbs, *that God hateth false lips; and he that speaketh lies shall perish.* Thus thou mayst see and find in all the books of God, how odious and contrary to God a liar is; and for the world, believe it, that it never did any man good, except in the extremity

tremity of saving life; for a liar is of a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.

PRESERVATION OF ESTATE.

Among all other things of the world, take care of thy estate; which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three things. First, that thou know what thou hast, what every thing is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy servants and officers. The second is, that thou never spend any thing before thou have it; for borrowing is the canker and death of every man's estate. The third is, that thou suffer not thyself to be wounded for other men's faults, and scourged for other men's offences, which is, the surety for another; for thereby millions of men have been beggared and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other men's riot, and the charge of other men's folly and prodigality. If thou smart, smart for thine own sins, and above all things, be not made an ass to carry the burdens of other men. If any friend desire thee to be his surety, give him a part of what thou hast to spare; if he press thee farther, he is not thy friend at all, for friendship rather chuseth harm to itself, than offereth it. If thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool; if for a merchant, thou putteth thy estate to learn to swim; if for a churchman, he hath no inheritance; if for a lawyer, he will find an evasion by a syllable or word, to abuse thee; if for a poor man, thou must pay it thyself; if for a rich man, it need not. Therefore from suretyship, as from a manslayer, or enchanter, bless thyself; for the best profit and return will be this, that if thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy; if thou use to pay it thyself, thou wilt be a beggar; and believe thy father in this, and print it in thy thought, that what virtue soever thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy qualities shall be despised. Beside, poverty is oft-times sent as a curse of God, it is a shame among men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation

vexation of every worthy spirit; thou shalt neither help thyself nor others, thou shalt drown thee in all thy virtues, having no means to shew them, thou shalt be a burden, and an eye-sore to thy friends, every man will fear thy company, thou shalt be driven basely to beg and depend on others, to flatter unworthy men, to make dishonest shifts; and to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and detested deeds. Let not vanity therefore, or persuasion, draw thee to that worst of worldly miseries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleasure in health, comfort in sickness, keep thy mind and body free, save thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy elder years, relieve the poor and thy honest friends, and give means to thy posterity to live, and defend themselves and thine own fame. Where it is said in the Proverbs, *that he shall be sore vexed that is surety for a stranger, and he that hateth suretyship, is sure*; it is farther said, *the poor is hated even of his own neighbour, but the rich have many friends.* Lend not to him that is mightier than thyself, for if thou lendest him, count it but lost. Be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety, think to pay it.

SERVANTS.

Let thy servants be such as thou mayst command, and entertain none about thee but yeomen, to whom thou givest wages; for those that will serve thee without thy hire, will cost thee treble as much as they that know thy fare. If thou trust any servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account e'er thou sleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterward for tediousness neglect it. I myself, have therefore lost more than I am worth. And whatsoever thy servant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy simplicity to scorn; and beside, 'tis the way to make thy servants thieves, which else would be honest.

BRAVE RAGS.

Exceed not in the humour of rags and bravery, for these will soon wear out of fashion; but money in thy purse will ever be in fashion; and no man is esteemed for gay garments, but by fools and women.

RICHES.

On the other side, take heed that thou seek not riches basely, nor attain them by evil means; destroy no man for his wealth, nor take any thing from the poor; for the cry and complaint thereof will pierce the heavens. And it is most detestable before God, and most dishonourable before worthy men, to wrest anything from the needy and labouring soul. God will never prosper thee in aught, if thou offend therein. But use thy poor neighbours and tenants well, pine not them and their children to add superfluity and needless expences to thyself. He that hath pity on another man's sorrow, shall be free from it himself; and he that delighteth in and scorneth the misery of another, shall one time or other fall into it himself. Remember this precept, *he that hath mercy on the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompence him what he hath given.* I do not understand those for poor which are vagabonds and beggars, but those that labour to live, such as are old and cannot travail, such poor widows and fatherless children, as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor tenants that travail to pay their rents, and are driven to poverty by mischance, and not by riot or careless expences; on such have thou compassion, and God will bless thee for it. Make not the hungry soul sorrowful, defer not thy gift to the needy; for if he curse thee, in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

WINE.

WINE.

Take especial care that thou delight not in wine, for there never was any man that came to honour or preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beast, decayeth health, poisoneth the breath, destroyeth natural heat, brings a man's stomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy men, hated in thy servants, in thyself and companions; for it is a bewitching and infectious vice. And remember my words, that it were better for a man to be subject to any vice than to it; for all other vanities and sins are recovered, but a drunkard will never shake-off the delight of beastliness; for the longer it possesseth a man, the more he will delight in it, and the older he groweth, the more he shall be subject to it; for it dulleth the spirits, and destroyeth the body, as ivy doth the old tree, or as the worm that engendereth in the kernel of the nut.

Take heed therefore that such a cureless canker pass not thy youth, nor such a beastly infection thy old age; for then shall all thy life be but as the life of a beast, and after thy death, thou shalt only leave a shameful infamy to thy posterity, who shall study to forget that such a one was their father. Anacharsis saith, *the first draught serveth for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, the fourth for madness*; but in youth there is not so much as one draught permitted, for it putteth fire to fire, and wasteth the natural heat and seed of generation. And therefore except thou desire to hasten thine end, take this for a general rule, that thou never add any artificial heat to thy body, by wine or spice, until thou find that time hath decayed thy natural heat, and the sooner thou beginnest to help nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to art.

Who

Who have misfortune, saith Solomon, *who have sorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, stripes without cause, and faintness of eyes? even they that sit at wine, and strain themselves to empty cups.* Pliny saith, *wine maketh the hand quivering, the eyes watery, the night unquiet, lewd dreams, a stinking breath in the morning, and an utter forgetfulness of all things.*

Whosoever loveth wine, shall not be trusted of any man, for he cannot keep a secret. Wine maketh man not only a beast, but a madman; and if thou love it, thy own wife, thy children, and thy friends will despise thee. In drink, men care not what they say, what offence they give; they forget comeliness, commit disorders, and to conclude, offend all virtuous and honest company, and God most of all, to whom we daily pray for health, and a life free from pain; and yet by drunkenness, and gluttony (which is the drunkenness of feeding) we draw on, saith Hesiod, a swift, hasty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous old age. And St. Augustine describeth drunkenness in this manner, *ebrietas est blandus Dæmon, dulce venenum, suave peccatum; quod, qui habet, seipsum non habet; quod qui facit, peccatum not facit, sed ipse est peccatum. Drunkenness is a flattering devil, a sweet poison, a pleasant sin, which whosoever hath, hath not himself, which whosoever doth commit, doth not commit sin, but he himself is wholly sin.*

Innocentius saith, *quid turpius ebrioso, cui fætor in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit stulta, prodit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies transformatur? nullum secretum ubi regnat ebrietas, et quid non aliud designat malum? Fæcundi calices quem non fecere disertum? What is filthier than a drunken man, to whom there is stink in the mouth, trembling in the body; who uttereth foolish things, and revealeth secret things; whose mind is alienate, and face transformed? There is no secrecy where drunkenness rules; nay, what other mischief doth it not design? Whom have not plentiful cups made eloquent and talking?*

When Diogenes saw a house to be sold, whereof the owner was

given to drink, *I thought at the last,* quoth Diogenes, *he would spew out a whole house, sciebam, inquit, quod domum tandem evomeret.*

GOD.

Now for the world, I know it too well to persuade thee to dive into the practices thereof; rather stand upon thine own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practise upon thee in thy conscience, thy reputation, or thy purse; resolve that no man is wise or safe, but he that is honest.

Serve God, let him be the author of all thy actions, commend all thy endeavours to him that must either wither or prosper them, please him with prayer, lest if he frown he confound all thy fortunes and labours, like the drops of rain on the sandy ground. Let my experienced advice, and fatherly instructions, sink deep into thy heart. So God direct thee in all his ways, and fill thy heart with his Grace[46]!"

[46] Four editions of these Instructions (the earliest I believe in 12mo, 1632), were published before the first collection of Ralegh's Remains in 1651, in which they have since been frequently reprinted; also in Birch's Works of Ralegh, II. 341.

END OF THE LIFE.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

TO THE

LIFE OF SIR WALTER RALEGH;

CONSISTING OF

SCARCE PIECES

ILLUSTRATIVE OF HIS HISTORY, AND REFERRED TO IN THE PRECEDING WORK.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Epistle Dedicatory prefixed by JOHN HOOKER (alias VOWELL) to his Translation and Continuation of the Chronicles of Ireland, printed in HOLINSHED's Chronicles, Vol. II. folio, 1586.

"*To the Right Worthy and Honourable Gentleman Sir Walter Ralegh, Kt Seneschall of the Duchies of Cornwall and Excester, and Lord-warden of the Stannaries in Devon and Cornwall; John Hooker wisheth a long, a happy, and a prosperous Life, with the Increase of Honour.*

"AMONG all the infinite good blessings, Right Honourable, which the Lord God hath bestowed upon us, I think none more expedient and necessary than the use and knowledge of histories and chronicles; which are the most assured registers of the innumerable benefits and commodities which have and daily do grow to the church of God, and to the civil government throughout all nations.

* * * * * * * * *

——In times past, the surest course which our forefathers took either in civil government or in martial affairs, was that which they drew from the examples of their ancestors before them. And forasmuch as such is the value and virtue of the footsteps of our forefathers, I trust it shall not be offensive unto you, that I do a little digress and speak somewhat of yourself and of your ancestors, who the more honourable they were in their times, the greater cause have you to look into the same; that what in some of your later forefathers was consopited may not in you be consepulted, but roused and raised unto his former and pristinate state. And

forasmuch as I am somewhat acquainted in their descents, let me make bold with you to lay the same down before you.

There were sundry of your ancestors by the name of Ralegh, who were of great account and nobility, and allied as well to the Courtneys, earls of Devon, as to other houses of great honour and nobility, and in sundry succeeding descents were honoured with the degree of knighthood. One of them, being your ancestor in the directest line, was named Sir John de Ralegh, who then dwelled in the house of Furdell in Devon, an ancient house of your ancestors, and of their ancient inheritance; and which at these presents is in the possession of your eldest brother. This knight married the daughter and heir to Sir Roger D'amerei, or de Amerei, whom our English chronicles do name Lord de Amerie, who was a nobleman, and of great lineage, and descended of the earls de Amereie in Britain, and allied to the earls of Montfort in the same duchy and province. This man being come over into England did serve in the court, and by the good pleasure of God, and the good liking of the king, he married the lady Elizabeth, the third sister and co-heir to the noble Gilbert Earl of Clare and of Glocester, who was slain in the battle of Banokesborough in Scotland, in the time of king Edward II. This earl died *sans* issue, he being the son, and the said lady Elizabeth the daughter, to Gilbert de Clare Earl of Glocester, by his wife the lady Jane de Acres or Acon, daughter to king Edward I. This Gilbert descended of Robert Earl of Glocester, son to king Henry I. and of his wife the lady Mawd, daughter and heir to Robert Fitzhamon, lord of Astrovill in Normandy, cousin to the Conqueror, knight of the privy-chamber to king William Rufus, and lord of the Lordship of Glamorgan in Wales; so that your ancestor Sir John de Ralegh married the daughter of de Amerie, Damereie of Clare, Clare of Edward I. and which Clare by his father descended of king Henry I. And in like manner by your mother you may be derived out of the same house. These all were men of great honour and nobility, and whose virtues are highly recorded *sparsim* in the chronicles of England; some greatly commended for their wisdoms and deep judgments in matters of counsel, some likewise much praised for their prowess and valiantness in martial affairs, and many of them honoured for both.

But yet as nothing is permanent in this life, and all things variable under the sun, and time hath devoured and consumed the greatest men and the mightiest monarchs, and most noble commonwealths in the world, accord-

according to the old country saying, *be the day never so long, yet at length it will ring at even-song;* so this honourable race, though for so many descents, and for the course of so many years it continued in great honour, nobility, and reputation, yet in process of time the honour became to be of worship (nevertheless allied always, and matched in houses of great honour and nobility) and so eversince possessed by knights of your own name, until by little and little the honour and estimation of your noble and worthy ancestors seemed at length to be buried in oblivion, and as it were extinguished and to be utterly forgotten, as though it had never been. And now when all was past any hope and unremembered to the world, it hath pleased God to raise the same even as it were from the dead, and to look upon you the youngest son of many, as he did upon Joseph, one of the youngest sons of Jacob; and in you hath left a hope to restore the decayed house of your sept and family. He hath brought you into the good favour of your prince, who hath pleased to reward and honour in you the approved faithful service of your late ancestors and kindred deceased, and inclined her princely heart, conceiving a great hope of your own sufficiency and ability to restore you again, being the last branch remaining of so many noble and famous houses descended. And whereof cometh this, that the Lord hath thus blessed you, and so bountifully hath dealt with you? but only (as the wise man saith) *Ut noscas in omni virtute omnibus prodesse,* and that you should be beneficial and profitable to all men. And therefore in all our actions, *semper aliquid ad communem utilitatem est afferendum;* for we are not born to ourselves alone, but the prince, the country, the parents, friends, wives, children and family, every of them do claim an interest in us, and to every of them we must be beneficial, otherwise we do degenerate from that community and society, which by such offices by us is to be conserved, and do become most unprofitable; *nam inutilis prorsus est, qui nullam utilitatem reipublicæ ac communi societati possit afferre,* and every such man, as a member unprofitable is to be cut off. And as the bee is no longer suffered to have a place in the hive than while he worketh, no more is that man to have place in the public weal than while he doth some good therein, because through idleness they do not only no good, but as Cato saith, they do evil; *nihil agendo homines male agere discunt.* Idleness, therefore, the mother of all wickedness, and idlers the sons of so bad a mother, are utterly to be exiled and expelled out of all well-governed commonweals; and they only to be fostered,

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nourished, and cherished, who as they are born to the country, so if they do good and be beneficial to the same.

And how great your care hath been herein, the course of your life hitherto doth manifest it. For, after that you had seasoned your primer years at Oxford in knowledge and learning, a good ground and a sure foundation to build thereupon all your good actions, you travelled into France, and spent there a good part of your youth in the wars and martial services. And having some sufficient knowledge and experience therein, then after your return from thence, to the end you might every way be able to serve your prince and commonweal, you were desirous to be acquainted in maritimal affairs. Then you, together with your brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert, travelled the seas for the search of such countries, as which if they had been then discovered, infinite commodities in sundry respects would have ensued, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanying you, had according to appointment followed you, or yourself had escaped the dangerous sea-fight when many of your company were slain, and your ships therewith also sore battered and disabled. And albeit this hard beginning (after which followed the death of the said worthy knight your brother) was a matter sufficient to have discouraged a man of a right good stomach and value from any like sea-attempts; yet you, more respecting the good ends whereunto you levelled your line for the good of your country, did not give over until you had recovered a land, and had made a plantation of the people of your own English nation in Virginia, the first English colony that ever was there planted, to the no little derogation of the glory of the Spaniards, and an impeach to their vaunts; who, because with all cruel immanity, contrary to all natural humanity, they subdued a naked and a yielding people, whom they sought for gain and not for any religion or plantation of a commonwealth, over whom to satisfy their most greedy and insatiable covetousness did most cruelly tyrannise, and most tyranically, and against the course of all human nature, did scorch and roast them to death, as by their own histories doth appear. These (I say) do brag and vaunt, that they only have drawn strange nations and unknown people to the obedience of their kings, to the knowledge of Christianity, and to the enriching of their country, and thereby do claim the honour to be due to themselves only and alone. But if these your actions were well looked into, with such due consideration as appertaineth, it shall be found much

more

more honourable in sundry respects for the advancement of the name of God, the honour of the prince, and the benefit of the commonwealth. For what can be more pleasant to God than to gain and reduce in all christianlike manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the gospel, and a true Christian religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and a sweet sacrifice, and a more acceptable service before God? And what can be more honourable to princes, than to enlarge the bounds of their kingdoms without injury, wrong, and bloodshed; and to frame them from a savage life to a civil government, neither of which the Spaniards in their conquests have performed? And what can be more beneficial to a commonweal, than to have a nation and a kingdom to transfer unto the superfluous multitude of fruitless and idle people (here at home daily increasing) to travel, conquer, and manure another land, which by the due intercourses to be devised may and will yield infinite commodities? And how well you do deserve every way in following so honourable a course, not we ourselves only can witnesss, but strange nations also do honour you for the same; as doth appear by the epistle of Bassimerus of France to the history of Florida, and by Julius Cæsar a citizen of Rome in his epistle to his book intituled Cullombeados. It is well known that it had been no less easy for you, than for such as have been advanced by kings to have builded great houses, purchased large circuits, and to have used the fruits of princes' favours, as most men in all former and present ages have done, had you not preferred the general honour and commodity of your prince and country before all private gain and commodity; whereby you have been rather a servant than a commander to your own fortune. And no doubt, the cause being so good, and the attempt so honourable, but that God will increase your talent, and bless your doings, and every good man will commend and farther the same. And albeit the more noble enterprises a man shall take in hand, the more adversaries he shall have to deprave and hinder the same; yet I am persuaded, as no good man shall have just cause, so there is none so much carried with a corrupt mind, nor so envious of his country's honour, nor so bent against you, that he will derogate the praise and honour due to so worthy an enterprise; and that so much the sooner, because you have endured so many crosses, and have through so much envyings and misfortunes persevered in your attempts, which no doubt shall at last by you be performed when it shall please him, who hath made you an instrument of so

worthy

worthy a work. And by how much the more God hath pleased thus to bless you, so much the more are you bound to be thankful unto him, and to acknowledge the same to proceed from his grace and mercy toward you.

Give me leave therefore (I pray you) to be bold with you, not only to put you in mind hereof, but also to remember you, how it hath pleased God to bring you into the favour of your prince and sovereign; who, beside her great favour toward you many ways, she hath also laid upon you the charge of a government in your own country, where you are to command many people by your honourable office of the stannary, and where you are both a judge and chancellor, to rule in justice and to judge in equity. Wherein you are so much the more to be circumspect and wise, because upon your judgment (and such as you shall appoint to be under you) the determinations of all their causes doth rest and depend, knowing that a hard judgment abideth for such as be in authority, if they judge not uprightly, and do not yield justice to every man indifferently. Be you therefore careful in this respect, that you be well reported for your upright dealings, both herein and in every of all your other actions to all men. Be you a pattern of virtue, and an example of true nobility, which is grounded and hath her foundation upon virtue; for, as the poet saith, *Ex virtute nobilitas nascitur, non ex nobilitate virtus: virtus sola nobilitat, non caro nec sanguis.* And therefore, saith Demosthenes, if thou draw thy descent and pedigree even from Jupiter himself, yet if thou be not virtuous, just, and good, *ignobilis mihi videris;* in my opinion thou art no gentleman. It is a noble thing to be born of noble ancestors (as Aristotle saith) but his nobility faileth, when his ancestors' virtues in him faileth, *hic enim verè nobilis est censendus, cui non aliena sed sua virtus ad gloriam opitulatur.* Your ancestors were very ancient, and men of great nobility, beneficial to their princes and country many and sundry ways. And as in nature you are descended from them, so it hath pleased God to bless you with knowledge in learning, with skill of warlike service, and in experience in maritimall causes, and beside hath placed you among the nobles, and in the good grace and favour of your prince. Wherefore you are so much the more to be careful to restore the house of your decayed forefathers to their ancient honour and nobility, which in this later age hath been obscured, abiding the time by you to be restored to their first and primer state; which you are not only taught by their old and good examples, but also by the ensigns of their and your nobility. For the fusils, being an instrument

of

of travail and labour, do advertise you, that you are one of the sons of Adam, born to walk in a vocation, and therein to be a profitable member in the church of God, and in maintenance of the common society; which when you behold and look upon, you must so endeavour yourself, even as Agathocles, king of Syracusa, whose cupboards, though they were well furnished with great store and variety of rich plate, yet he thought not the same sufficiently fraughted, unless he had also his earthen pitchers and stone cups in which he used to drink, to teach and remember him in the middle of his royalty, to be mindful of his origin estate and duty.

The white colour or silver metal doth teach unto you virtue, sincerity, and godliness. For as silver is a most excellent metal, and next unto gold excelling all others, and with which for the excellency thereof, the Lord God would have his tabernacle and his temple to be adorned and beautified with vessels and ornaments thereof; and as the white colour, if it be spotted and foul, doth lose his grace, even so it teacheth you to be a man of an honest and of a godly conversation; to lead a life in all uprightness, without reproach and disgrace; and that you should be serviceable to God and your country in all good actions; and therewith also (which by the gulie colour is meant) you be bold and valiant for the defence of your country, and for the safety thereof to spend both life and goods, that you should be beneficial to all men, hurtful and injurious to no man. And such kind of men were your ancestors, who for the same were beloved and honoured, and their names forever registered in immortal fame and memory. And so shall it be with you, if you do the like, and follow their steps and examples, God shall bless you, and you shall prosper and flourish as did Joseph; you shall be honoured, as was Daniel; and you shall be in favour before God and man, as were your ancestors; the whole people shall speak good of you, the honour of your house shall be restored, and your talent shall be augmented and increased, and all things shall go well with you.

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——According to such instructions and collections as are come to my hands, I have after the method and nature of an history most sincerely and faithfully set down what is material and worthy the writing: and forasmuch as yourself was a party and a doer in some part of the Desmonds' wars, in which you were a painful and a faithful servitor, and therefore can give some report and testimony to this discourse; and also for the love and ho-

nour which I do owe and bear unto you, I thought it my part and duty to offer and present, and presently in most humble manner I do offer and present the same unto your good favour and protection. And albeit, the thing itself be very slender, and too far an inferior present to be offered to one of your estate and calling, yet, let your courtesy cover that, and accept my goodwill; which as time and occasion hereafter shall serve, I shall and will be most willing, (as Your Lordship's most devout and assured) to supply in all the good services I may or shall be able to do at your commandment. The Lord bless you, and multiply your days, to the honour of God, the good service of Her Majesty, the benefit of the commonwealth, the comfort of your friends, and to your own increase in all honour.—Exon. October 12, 1586.

Your L. very good friend and ally at commandment,

JOHN HOOKER."

No. II.

HAKLUYT's Dedication prefixed to his Translation from the French of LAUDONNIERE's History of four Voyages to Florida.

(From HAKLUYT's Voyages, III. 301, Folio, 1600.)

"*To the Right Honourable Sir* WALTER RALEGH, *Knight, Captain of Her Majesty's Guard, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, and Her Highness' Lieutenant-general of the County of Cornwall, R. H. wisheth true Felicity.*

"SIR,

AFTER that this history, which had been concealed many years, was lately committed to print and published in France under your name by my learned friend M. Martine Basanier of Paris, I was easily induced to turn it into English, understanding that the same was no less grateful to you here, than I know it to be acceptable to many great and worthy persons there. And no marvel though it were very welcome unto you, and that you liked of the translation thereof, since no history hitherto set forth hath more affinity, resemblance or conformity with yours of Virginia,

ginia, than this of Florida. But calling to mind that you had spent more years in France than I, and understand the French better than myself, I forthwith perceived that you approved mine endeavour, not for any private ease or commodity that thereby might redound unto you, but that it argued a singular and especial care you had of those which are to be employed in your own like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you would have forwarned and admonished as well to beware of the gross negligence in providing of sufficiency of victuals, the security, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the French, with the great inconveniences that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learn to prevent and avoid the like; as also might be put in mind by the reading of the manifold commodities and great fertility of the places herein at large described, and so near neighbours unto our colonies, that they might generally be awaked and stirred up unto the diligent observation of every thing that might turn to the advancement of the action, whereinto they are so cheerfully entered. Many special points concerning the commodities of these parts, the accidents of the Frenchmen's government therein, the causes of their good or bad success, with the occasions of the abandoning one of their forts, and the surprise of the other by the enemy, are herein truly and faithfully recorded; which because they be quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabetical table, which I have annexed to the end of the work, it shall be needless to reckon up again. And that the rather, because the same with divers other things of chiefest importance are lively drawn in colours, at your no small charges, by the skilful painter James Morgues, sometime living in the Black-friars in London (whom Monsieur Chastillion then Admiral of France sent thither with Laudonniere for that purpose) which was an eye-witness of the goodness and fertility of those regions, and hath put down in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise; which since he hath published together with the portraitures. These four voyages I knew not to whom I might better offer than to yourself, and that for divers just considerations. First, for that as I have said before, they were dedicated unto you in French. Secondly, because now four times also you have attempted the like upon the self-same coast near adjoining. Thirdly, in that you have pierced as far up into the main, and discovered no less secrets in the parts of your abode, than the French did in the places of their inhabiting. Lastly, considering you are now also ready (upon the late re-

turn of captain Stafford, and good news which he brought you of the safe arrival of your last colony in their wished haven) to prosecute this action more thoroughly than ever. And here to speak somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirm, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will prove far more beneficial in divers respects unto this our realm, than the world, yea many of the wiser sort, have hitherte imagined. The particular commodities whereof are well known unto yourself and some few others, and are faithfully and with great judgment committed to writing, as you are not ignorant, by one of your followers, which remained there about a twelvemonth with your worshipful lieutenant M. Ralph Lane, in the diligent search of the secrets of those countries. Touching the speedy and effectual pursuing of your action, though I wot well it would demand a prince's purse to have it thoroughly followed without lingering, yet am I of opinion, that you shall draw the same before it be long to be profitable and gainful as well to those of our nation there remaining, as to the merchants of England that shall trade hereafter thither, partly by certain secret commodities already discovered by your servants, and partly by breeding of divers sorts of beasts in those large and ample regions, and planting of such things in that warm climate as will best prosper there, and our realm standeth most in need of. And this I find to have been the course that both Spaniards and Portuguese took in the beginnings of their discoveries and conquests. For the Spaniards at their first entrance into Hispaniola found neither sugar-canes nor ginger growing there, nor any kind of our cattle; but finding the place fit for pasture they sent kine and bulls, and sundry sorts of other profitable beasts thither, and transported the plants of sugar-canes, and set the roots of ginger: the hides of which oxen, with sugar and ginger, are now the chief merchandise of that island. The Portuguese also at their first footing in Madeira, as John Barros writes in his first Decade, found nothing there but mighty woods for timber, whereupon they called the island by that name. Howbeit, the climate being favourable, they inriched it by their own industry with the best wines and sugars in the world. The like manner of proceeding they used in the isles of Azores by sowing therein great quantity of woad. So dealt they in St. Thomas under the equinoctial, and in Brasil, and sundry other places. And if our men will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in due time they shall reap no less commodity and benefit. Moreover, there is none other likelihood but that Her Majesty, which hath

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christened and given the name to your Virginia, if need require, will deal after the manner of honourable godmothers, which, seeing their gossips not fully able to bring up their children themselves, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they find any towardliness or reasonable hope of goodness in them. And if Elizabeth, queen of Castile and Aragon, after her husband Ferdinando and she had emptied their coffers and exhausted their treasures in subduing the kingdom of Granada, and rooting the Moors, a wicked weed, out of Spain, was nevertheless so zealous of God's honour, that (as Fernandus Columbus, the son of Christopher Columbus, recordeth in the History of the Deeds of his Father) she laid part of her own jewels, which she had in great account, to gage, to furnish his father forth upon his first voyage, before any foot of land of all the West Indies was discovered; what may we expect of our most magnificent and gracious prince ELIZABETH of England, into whose lap the Lord hath most plentifully thrown his treasures! what may we, I say, hope of her forwardness and bounty in advancing of this your most honourable enterprise, being far more certain than that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no less to the glory of God than that action of the Spaniards? For as you may read in the very last words of the relation of New Mexico, extant now in English, the main land, where your last colony mean to seat themselves, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, *which are of better wits than those of Mexico and Peru, as hath been found by those that have had some trial of them: whereby it may be gathered that they will easily embrace the Gospel, forsaking their idolatry, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped and intangled.* A wise philosopher noting the sundry desires of divers men, writeth, that if an ox be put into a meadow he will seek to fill his belly with grass, if a stork be cast in she will seek for snakes, if you turn in a hound he will seek to start a hare; so sundry men entering into these discoveries propose unto themselves several ends. Some seek authority and places of commandment, others experience by seeing of the world, the most part worldly and transitory gain, and that oftentimes by dishonest and unlawful means, the fewest number the glory of God and the saving of the souls of the poor and blinded infidels. Yet because divers honest and well-disposed persons are entered already into this your business, and that I know you mean hereafter to send some such good churchmen thither, as may truly say with the Apostle to the

the savages, *we seek not yours but you;* I conceive great comfo[illegible] success of this your action, hoping that the Lord, whose powe[illegible] to be perfected in weakness, will bless the feeble foundations o[illegible] building. Only be you of a valiant courage and faint not, as [illegible] said unto Joshua, exhorting him to proceed on forward in the [illegible] of the Land of Promise, and remember that private men have happily wielded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser means than those which God in his mercy hath bountifully bestowed upon you, to the singular good, as I assure myself, of this our commonwealth wherein you live. Hereof we have examples domestical and foreign. Remember, I pray you, what you find in the beginning of the Chronicle of the Conquest of Ireland newly dedicated unto yourself. Read you not that Richard Strangbow, the decayed Earl of Chepstow in Monmouthshire, being in no great favour of his sovereign, passed over into that island in the year 1171, and accompanied only with certain of his private friends had in short space such prosperous success, that he opened the way, for king Henry II. to the speedy subjection of all that warlike nation to this crown of England? The like conquest of Brasilia, and annexing the same to the kingdom of Portugal, was first begun by mean and private men, as Don Antonio de Castillio, ambassador here for that realm, and by office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoveries, assured me in this city in the year 1581.

Now if the greatness of the main of Virginia, and the large extension thereof, especially to the west, should make you think that the subduing of it were a matter of more difficulty than the conquest of Ireland, first I answer, that as the late experience of that skilful pilot and Captain M. John Davis to the north-west (toward which his discovery yourself have thrice contributed with the forwardest) hath shewed a great part to be main sea, where before was thought to be main land, so for my part I am fully persuaded by Ortelius' late reformation of Culuacan and the gulf of California, that the land on the back part of Virginia extendeth nothing so far westward as is put down in the maps of those parts. Moreover it is not to be denied, but that one hundred men will do more now among the naked and unarmed people in Virginia, than one thousand were able then to do in Ireland against that armed and warlike nation in those days. I say farther, that these two years last experience hath plainly shewed, that we may spare ten thousand able men without any miss. And

these

these are as many as the kingdom of Portugal had ever in all their garrisons of the Azores, Madeira, Arguin, Cape Verde, Guinea, Brasil, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Malaca, the Malucos, and Macao upon the coast of China. Yea, this I say by the confession of singular expert men of their own nation (whose names I suppress for certain causes) which have been personally in the East Indics, and have assured me that their kings had never above ten thousand natural born Portuguese (their slaves excepted) out of their kingdom remaining in all the aforesaid territories. Which also this present year I saw confirmed in a secret extract of the particular estate of that kingdon and of every government and office subject to the same, with the several pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so far from want of people, that retiring daily home out of the Low-countries they go idle up and down in swarms for lack of honest entertainment, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trained up thus long in service, than in the inward parts of the firm of Virginia against such stubborn savages as shall refuse obedience to Her Majesty. And doubtless many of our men will be glad and fain to accept this condition, when as by the reading of this present treaty they shall understand the fertility and riches of the regions confining so near upon yours, the great commodities and goodness whereof you have been contented to suffer to come to light. In the mean season I humbly commend myself and this my translation unto you; and yourself, and all those which under you have taken this enterprise in hand to the grace and good blessing of the Almighty, which is able to build farther, and to finish the good work which in these our days he hath begun by your most Christian and charitable endeavour. From London the 1st of May, 1587.

Your L. humble at commandment,

R. HAKLUYT."

No. III.

No. III.

"The Letters Patents granted by the Queen's Majesty to M. WALTER RALEGH, *now Knight, for the discovering and planting of new Lands and Countries, to continue the Space of six Years and no more.*

(From HAKLUYT's Voyages, III. 243.)

"ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that of our especial grace, certain science and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors do give and grant to our trusty and well-beloved servant Walter Ralegh, Esq. and to his heirs and assigns forever, free liberty and license from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, to discover, search, find out, and view such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heirs, and assigns, and to every or any of them shall seem good, and the same to have, hold, occupy, and enjoy to him, his heirs, and assigns for ever, with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, and pre-eminences, thereto or thereabout both by sea and land, whatsoever we by our letters patents may grant, and as we or any of our noble progenitors have heretofore granted to any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate; and the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and all such as from time to time, by licence of us, our heirs, and successors, shall go or travel thither to inhabit or remain, there to build and fortify, at the discretion of the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, and assigns, the statutes or act of Parliament made against fugitives, or against such as shall depart, remain, or continue out of our realm of England without licence, or any other statute, act, law, or any ordinance whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, mere motion, and certain knowledge, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant full authority, liberty, and power to the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, and assigns, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may at all and every time and times hereafter, have, take, and lead in the said voyage and travel thitherward, or to inhabit

inhabit there with him or them, and every or any of them, such, and so many of our subjects as shall willingly accompany him or them, and every or any of them; and to whom also we do by these presents, give full liberty and authority in that behalf, and also to have, take and employ, and use sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations and navigations in that behalf, so that none of the same persons or any of them be such as hereafter shall be restrained by us, our heirs, or successors.

And farther, that the said Walter Raleigh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, shall have, hold, occupy, and enjoy to him, his heirs and assigns, and every of them forever, all the soil of all such lands, territories, and countries, so to be discovered and possessed as aforesaid, and of all such cities, castles, towns, villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties, franchises, and jurisdictions, as well marine as other within the said lands or countries, or the seas thereunto adjoining, to be had, or used, with full power to dispose thereof, and of every part in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England, as near as the same conveniently may be, at his and their will and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall remain within the allegiance of us, our heirs and successors; reserving always to us, our heirs and successors, for all services, duties, and demands, the fifth part of all the ore of gold and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discovery, subduing and possessing, shall be there gotten and obtained; all which lands, countries, and territories shall forever be holden of the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, of us, our heirs and successors, by homage, and by the said payment of the said fifth part, reserved only for all services.

And, moreover, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, give and grant licence to the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repel and resist as well by sea as by land, and by all other ways whatsoever, all and every such person and persons whatsoever, as without the especial liking and licence of the said Walter Ralegh, and of his heirs and assigns, shall attempt to inhabit within the said countries, or any of them, or within the space of two hundred leagues near to the place or places within such countries as aforesaid,

aforesaid, (if they shall not be before planted or inhabited within the limits aforesaid with the subjects of any Christian prince being in amity with us) where the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, or assigns, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their associates or company, shall within six years (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter unlawfully to annoy either by sea or land the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies; giving and granting by these presents farther power and authority to the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and every of them from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter, to take and surprise by all manner of means whatsoever, all and every those person or persons, with their ships, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which, without the licence of the said Walter Ralegh, or his heirs, or assigns, as aforesaid, shall be found trafficing into any harbour, or harbours, creek, or creeks, within the limits aforesaid (the subjects of our realms and dominions, and all other persons in amity with us, trading to the Newfoundlands for fishing as heretofore they have commonly used, or being driven by force of a tempest or shipwreck only excepted;) and those persons, and every of them, with their ships, vessels, goods, and furniture to detain and possess as of good and lawful prize, according to the discretion of him the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, and assigns, and every or any of them. And for uniting in more perfect league and amity of such countries, lands, and territories so to be possessed and inhabited as aforesaid with our realms of England and Ireland, and the better encouragement of men to these enterprises; we do by these presents grant and declare, that all such countries so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesaid, from thenceforth shall be of the allegiance of us, our heirs, and successors. And we do grant to the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, and assigns, and to all, and every of them, and to all and every other person and persons being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entered in some of our courts of record within our realm of England, that with the assent of the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, shall in his journies for discovery, or in the journies for conquest, hereafter travel to such lands, countries, and territories, as aforesaid, and to their, and to every of their heirs, that they and every or any of them, being either born within our said realms of England or Ireland, or in any other place within our allegiance,

and

and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, countries, and territories, with such licence, (as aforesaid) shall and may have all the privileges of free denizens, and persons native of England, and within our allegiance in suchlike ample manner and form, as if they were born nd personally resident within our said realm of England; any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch as upon the finding out, discovering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countries, and territories as aforesaid, it shall be necessary for the safety of all men, that shall adventure themselves in those journies or voyages, to determine to live together in Christian peace and civil quietness each with other, whereby every one may with more pleasure and profit enjoy that whereunto they shall attain with great pain and peril, we for us, our heirs and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents do give and grant to the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns forever, that he and they, and every or any of them, shall and may from time to time for ever hereafter, within the said mentioned remote lands and countries, in the way by the seas thither and from thence, have full and mere power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule by their and every or any of their good discretions and policies, as well in causes capital or criminal as civil, both marine and other, all such our subjects as shall from time to time adventure themselves in the said journies or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabit any such lands, countries, or territories as aforesaid, or that shall abide within two hundred leagues of any of the said place or places, where the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or any of his or their associates or companies, shall inhabit within six years next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, laws, and ordinances as shall be by him the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and every or any of them devised or established, for the better government of the said people as aforesaid. So always as the said statutes, laws, and ordinances, may be as near as conveniently may be, agreeable to the form of the laws, statutes, government, or policy of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, now professed in the church of England, nor in any-wise to withdraw any of the subjects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of us, our heirs and successors, as their immediate sovereign under God.

And farther, we do by these presents for us, our heirs and successors,

give and grant full power and authority to our trusty and well-beloved counsellor Sir William Cecil, knight, Lord Burlegh, our high treasurer of England, and to the lord treasurer of England for us, our heirs and successors for the time being, and to the privy-council of us, our heirs and successors, or any four or more of them for the time being, that he, they, or any four or more of them shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, under his or their hands or seals by virtue of these presents, authorise and licence the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and every or any of them by him, and by themselves, or by their, or any of their sufficient attornies, deputies, officers, ministers, factors, and servants, to embark and transport out of our realm of England and Ireland and the dominions thereof, all or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associates and companies, and every or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our realms, as to the said lord treasurer, or four or more of the privy-council, of us, our heirs and successors for the time being (as aforesaid) shall be from time to time by his or their wisdoms or discretions thought meet and convenient, for the better relief and supportation of him the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, and assigns, and every or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associates and companies; any act, statute, law, or anything to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

Provided always, and our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes, and states, that if the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter rob or spoil by sea or by land, or do any act of unjust or unlawful hostility, to any of the subjects of us, our heirs or successors, or to any of the subjects of any the kings, princes, rulers, governors, or estates, being then in perfect league and amity with us, our heirs and successors, and that upon such injury, or upon just complaint of any such prince, ruler, governor, or estate, or their subjects, we, our heirs and successors, shall make open proclamation within any the ports of our realm of England, that the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and adherents, or any to whom these our letters patents may extend, shall within the terms to be limited, by such proclamation, make full restitution and satisfaction of all such injuries done; so as both we and the said princes, or other, so complaining, may hold us and themselves fully contented. And that if the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, shall not

not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly within such time so to be limited, that then it shall be lawful to us, our heirs and successors, to put the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discovered (as is aforesaid) or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the said Walter Ralegh, his heirs, assigns, and adherents, and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession, and rule, shall be out of our allegiance and protection, and free for all princes and others to pursue with hostility, as being not our subjects, nor by us anyway to be avouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegiance anyway belonging; for that express mention of the clear yearly value of the certainty of the premises, or anypart thereof, or of any other gift or grant by us, or any our progenitors, or predecessors to the said Walter Ralegh, before this time made in these presents be not expressed, or any other grant, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restraint to the contrary thereof, before this time given, ordained, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in anywise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourselves, at Westminster the five and twentieth day of March, in the six and twentieth year of our reign."

No. IV.

Determinations of the Council of War held November 27th, 1587, for putting the Forces of the Realm in the best Posture of Defence against the threatened Invasion.

(From a MS. seen by Oldy's, and probably composed by Ralegh.—See Oldys' Life of Ralegh, p. 39.)

"THEY first numbered up the places most suspected for the army from Spain, and also those most convenient for that in Flanders to land at; then concluded how many of those places were to be put in defence to hinder their landing. And first, they took notice of Milford; which though they did not suspect would be preferred, for the barrenness of the country, yet in regard to the goodness of the haven, they thought it convenient there should be

be a trained number of two thousand foot, and five hundred horse in readiness; and that in want of horsemen, the gentlemen and their servants were to supply the deficiency. But Plymouth they thought the most likely place, because it was improbable the king of Spain would venture his fleet too far within the sleeve before he had mastered some good harbour, of which Plymouth is nearest to Spain, soonest fortified, and most convenient to be succoured either from Spain or France. Portland they also thought a tempting place, having a large harbour, and good landing. The Isle of Wight they considered as a strong retreat, if won, and the country adjoining champion, where the enemy might march his whole army. And why they thought the Downs, Margate, and the Thames fit landing-places, was in regard to the easiness of landing, and being nearest the Prince of Parma, in whose forces the king of Spain reposed special trust. Then they consulted whether these places were to be strengthened by fortification, or assembly of the people, or both; and concluded, that for Plymouth, there should be both; and that the five thousand trained men in Devon and Cornwall, beside the stannaries, were to be assembled for Plymouth, standing equal to both counties: of this number, instead of muster-days, chargeable and of little effect, two thousand should be assembled in Plymouth, under the general to be appointed over the western army, that they might know their leaders, be acquainted with watch and ward, and so instructed, that on a sudden there might be no confusion; and this to be half at the charge of Her Majesty, and half on the country, if the country charge surmounted not the ordinary trainings. Portland also was to be armed both by fortification and assembly; for the two thousand seven hundred trained men in Dorsetshire and Wiltshire were to be assembled for that place; and two thousand of them to be exercised as before, in some part of Wiltshire, appointed for the Isle of Wight, to take Somersetshire in, which there are two thousand foot. At Sandwich and the Downs by assembly. In Kent and Sussex, the four thousand five hundred trained men to be assembled for defence there; and two thousand of them to be exercised at Sandwich as before. The like order to be taken for Norfolk and Suffolk. Their farther meaning was, that these garrisons should remain but for twenty days, to be thoroughly trained and acquainted with encamping. Then every such two thousand men in garrison thus disciplined, should give example to a great army of raw men, so prevent confusion on a sudden. Farther, that twenty captains should be appointed to every such two thousand men, which captains

tains having each of them a hundred trained men, should receive under them when the army assembled a hundred more; so as in effect there would be four thousand men in order, and under martial discipline. Half these captains were to be chosen by the general of the army, the rest to be from the principal gentry of the country; under whom were soldiers to be appointed for their lieutenants. And the same order to be observed in all other places of garrison. Then they considered on the course to be taken for fighting the enemy, if by force he should land; and this they agreed must be left to the discretion of the general; only advised, if they could not prevent his landing and marching forward, that the country be driven so as no victuals remain to the invaders, and that they be kept waking with perpetual alarms, but in nowise to venture battle, till divers lieutenants were assembled to make a strong army as before specified; except upon special advantages. Farther, that in those provinces where there are many lieutenants, some one to be appointed chief leader, that there be no straining of courtesy among one another, and giving thereby advantage to the enemy; but that every lieutenant's authority shall only extend to the command of his own company, as colonel of that regiment, and be commanded by the lieutenants general; as in Devon and Cornwall, there being ten lieutenants; whereby it shall be known who shall command in either, as need shall require. Next they considered what proportion of men must be prepared for this end. Here, supposing the enemy landed at Plymouth, they computed that the six thousand armed and furnished in Devon and Cornwall, with the assistance of those in Wiltshire, Dorset, and Somersetshire, would make a sufficient army, strengthened with the gentlemen, their retinue, and others of the neighbouring counties, to be incorporated though not so completely armed; and if by resistance, or contrary weather, the enemy pass over Plymouth, and land at Portland, then the army of the west shall repair to them. If the invasion happen upon Kent, or other part to the west of the Thames, then the midland shires directed to assist the west, may turn to the east along the coast. If the army in Flanders land to the east of the Thames, the same order to be taken with Suffolk, Norfolk, Sussex, and the city of London. And because special regard was to be had to Her Majesty's person an army should be provided, and commanded under counties reserved for that end, to join the forces of London and others, to be armed out of Her Majesty's stores. Farther, for the increase of foot-men, wanting armour, among one-

fourth

fourth of the able unarmed men eighty should be pikes and twenty bill-men, and those weapons speedily to be provided, they being furnished by the realm. And for the increase of pike-men in this scarcity of armour, that the bill-men be converted into pikemen, and that able bill-men unarmed should be levied in their places; because the ranks of bill-men in order to battle are always environed with pikemen, for the bill-men serve specially for execution, if the enemy be overthrown; only a few armed bill-men or halberdiers reserved to guard the ranks wherein the ensigns, drums, &c. are placed. And because, on a sudden invasion, it will be too late to provide necessaries; store of ordnance, munition, and all other furniture, to be forthwith provided, and sent to the aforesaid garrisons. Also that horse as well as foot be exercised in those general assemblies; and that at Plymouth, Portsmouth, Sandwich, or other places thought fit to have the like training, the horsemen of the next counties be also brought together, as at Plymouth those of Devon, Cornwal, and Somersetshire; at Portland those of Dorset, Wilts, Hampshire, and Berkshire; and at Sandwich those of Kent, Sussex, and Surry. And because in these places for training the infantry, there may want forage and conveniencies for horsemen, the lieutenants may chuse the fittest for the cavalry as near the foot as they can. But as they cannot resist the landing in Scotland, they proposed six thousand foot and two thousand horse, whereof one thousand to be lances, for that side. And if these shall be thought too weak for the army in Flanders, when it lands there, a good part of the army appointed to guard Her Majesty may be detached to join the army in the north, and the army of the west march up to supply their charge. They also considered the king of Spain's hopes in the papists and mal-contents; and that if those small regiments were not in readiness, it would be too late to assemble, both for resisting a foreign enemy and withstanding these at home in one day; for every man would rest in fear of having his own house fired, and his family destroyed; therefore, if they made any stir, severe execution upon such offenders should be used by martial-law. Farther, that it should be bruited in Spain, a vast army of double or treble the number was ready in the west, and other coasts of England, to embark for Portugal or the Indies; the same opinion being fortified by the preparation of so many ships making ready in those parts by Sir Francis Drake. They also thought, that throughout all the counties of England the proportion among the armed and trained as well as unarmed

armed pikes and bills, should be eighty pikes and twenty bills in every hundred. And lastly, cautioned the lords of the council to be wary of Her Majesty's ships lying at Rochester."

No. V.

An Assignment from Sir WALTER RALEGH *to divers Gentlemen and Merchants of London, for the inhabiting and planting of our People in Virginia.*

(From HAKLUYT's Voyages, 1st Edition, folio, 1589, p. 815.)

"THIS indenture made the 7th of March, in the thirty-first year of the reign of our sovereign lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. between the right worshipful Sir Walter Ralegh, of Colaton Ralegh, in the county of Devon, knight, Lord-warden of the Stannary, and Chief-governor of Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia, on the one party; and Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Nevil, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetwood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklyn, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hoode, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, merchants of London, and adventurers to Virginia aforesaid, John White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Samson, Thomas Steevens, Roger Prat, Dionise Harvey, John Nichols, Humphry Dimmocke, late of London, gentlemen, of the other party, witnesseth, that where Sir Walter Ralegh, knight, by virtue of the queen's majesty's letters patents, dated at Westminster the 25th day of March, in the 26th year of Her Highness' reign, unto him the said Sir Walter Ralegh, by the name of Her Majesty's trusty and well-beloved servant, Walter Ralegh, Esq. granted for the discovering, finding out, and planting of unknown and remote lands and countries, as by the said letters patents at large doth, and may more plainly appear; hath by this indenture of grant bearing date after the computation of England the 7th day of January in the year of our Lord God 1587, and in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of our sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth, made be-

twixt him the said Sir Walter Ralegh, Kt. of the one party, and John White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Sampson, Thomas Steevens, William Fulwood, Roger Prat, Dionise Harvey, John Nichols, George Howe, James Plat, and Simon Ferdinando, of London, gentlemen, of the other party, granted unto the said John White, Roger Baylye, and the rest, free liberty to carry with them into the late discovered barbarous land and country called Assamacomock, alias Wingandecoia, alias Virginia, there to inhabit with them, such, and so many of Her Majesty's subjects, as shall willingly accompany them, together with sufficient shipping and furniture for the same; and also divers and sundry other prerogatives, jurisdictions, royalties, and pre-eminences, as in and by the said indenture of grant, it doth, and may more at large also appear; now the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Nevill, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklin, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hood, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, and others, adventurers as aforesaid, purposing, and intending to be made free of the corporation, company, and society lately made by the said Sir Walter Ralegh, in the city of Ralegh, intended to be erected and builded in Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia aforesaid, as by his said indenture made to the said John White, Roger Baylye, and the rest more at large it doth appear, do upon the sealing, effecting, and confirmation of these patents, adventure divers and sundry sums of money, merchandises, shipping, munition, victual, and other commodities, into the said foreign and remote country of Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia aforesaid; in consideration as well of which adventure, as also for divers and sundry other good causes and considerations, him the said Sir Walter Ralegh thereunto especially moving, the said Sir Walter Ralegh hath given, granted, covenanted, and promised, and by these presents for himself, his heirs, and assigns and every of them, doth give, grant, covenant, and promise, to and with the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Nevil, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklyn, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hood, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, and others adventurers aforesaid, and unto and with the said John White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayre,

Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Samson, Thomas Stevens, Roger Prat, Dionise Harvey, John Nichols, Humphry Dimmocke, and every of them, their heirs and assigns, and the heirs and assigns of every of them, and their, and every of their deputies, factors or apprentices, who shall serve them, or any of them by the space of seven years, that they, and every, or any of them, shall from time to time and at all times for ever have free trade and traffic for all manner of merchandise, or commodities whatsoever, unto, in, and from all that part of America called Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia aforesaid, or unto, or from any other part or country, of, or in America aforesaid, where he the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, or any other person or persons claiming or pretending any manner of right, title, or interest, or which hereafter shall or may claim, or pretend any right, title, or interest, by, from, or under him the said Sir Walter Ralegh, hath, challengeth, claimeth, or may or shall hereafter, have, challenge, or claim any interest, jurisdiction, title, rule, or privilege, by any conveyance, or discovery heretofore made, or hereafter to be made, or by any other way or means whatsoever. And farther, the said Sir Walter Ralegh, as well for, and in especial regard and zeal of planting the Christian religion in and among the said barbarous and heathen countries, and for the advancement and preferment of the same, and the common utility and profit of the inhabitants therein, as also for the encouragement of the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Nevill, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklin, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hood, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, John White, John Nichols, and the other assistants now lying in Virginia, and others adventurers aforesaid, their heirs, and assigns, doth by these presents, freely and liberally dispose and give unto them, the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, and the rest aforesaid, the sum of one hundred pounds of lawful money of England, to be by them adventured and disposed in and among other their adventures unto the places and countries before mentioned, to have, hold, occupy, use, employ, possess, enjoy, and dispose, as well the said sum of one hundred pounds, given as aforesaid, as also all such gain, profit, commodity, advantage, and increase, as they by God's assistance, shall thereof make to their only uses and behoofs, and to the uses and behoofs of the several

heirs, executors, and assigns of them and every of them, without rendering any account for the same, or any parcel thereof, to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs, executors, or assigns, or any of them. And the said Sir Walter Ralegh, for himself, his heirs and assigns, and every of them, doth farther covenant and grant, to, and with the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Nevill, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, and the rest aforesaid, and to and with the said John White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayre, Christopher Cooper, John Sampson, Thomas Steevens, Roger Prat, Dionise Harvey, John Nichols, and Humphry Dymmock, and the heirs and assigns of them, and every of them by these presents, to discharge, save and keep harmless from time to time, and at all times for ever, them and every of them, their several heirs and assigns, and every of them, and the deputies, factors, and servants of them, and every of them, and apprentices of them, and every or any of them, who shall serve them or any of them the space of seven years, of and from all rents, subsidies, customs, tolls, taxes, tallages, and all other charges, services, duties, and demands, whatsoever required or demanded, or to be required or demanded, at any time or times hereafter, or for the trading or transporting any commodity or profit, into or from the said country of Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia aforesaid, or any other country in America aforesaid, whereunto or wherein the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, hath or may or shall have any interest, right, or title, by virtue of the said letters patents, or by any discovery, or other means whatsoever, or for any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever; the fifth part of all the ore of gold and silver, that from time to time, and at all times after such discovery, subduing and possessing as aforesaid, shall be there gotten and obtained, (always reserved to the use of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns) only excepted and foreprised. And the said Sir Walter Ralegh doth further covenant and grant by these presents for him, his heirs and assigns, to and with the said Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, and the rest aforesaid their heirs and assigns, that he the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, upon sufficient and reasonable request made to him by the persons aforesaid, or any of them, their heirs or assigns, shall and will at any time or times hereafter, ratify, affirm, and approve by his deed or deeds, or by any other conveyance or conveyances in law, the corporation heretofore made by him the said Sir Walter Ralegh, consisting

of

of one governor and twelve assistants, as by his said indenture made to John White and others, more plainly doth appear, for the more perfect and better assurance, and sure making of the said corporation, if any imperfection, and want in law thereof be. And further, that he the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs and assigns, shall and will, as much as in him or them lieth, procure and endeavour to obtain the queen's Majesty's letters patents, for ratification, approbation, and more sure confirmation, of the said corporation and society with all prerogatives, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, and pre-eminences, whatsoever granted and conveyed by Her Majesty to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heirs or assigns, or by him the said Sir Walter Ralegh to the said John White and others, as by his said indenture of grant made to the said John White, and others more plainly appeareth. In witness whereof, the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably put their hands and seals, the day and year first above written."

No. VI.

An Abstract taken out of certain Spaniards' Letters concerning Guiana, and the Countries lying upon the great River of Oroonoko; with certain Reports also touching the same.

(From HAKLUYT's Voyages, III. 662, and BIRCH's Works of Ralegh, I. 236.)

An Advertisement to the Reader.

"THOSE letters out of which the abstracts following are taken, were surprised at sea as they were passing for Spain in the year 1594, by Captain George Popham; who the next year, and the same that Sir Walter Ralegh discovered Guiana as he was in a voyage for the West Indies, learned also the reports annexed. All which, at his return, being two months after Sir Walter, as also so long after the writing of the former discourse, hearing also of his discovery, he made known, and delivered to some of Her Majesty's most honourable privy council and others. The which, seeing they confirm in some part the substance, I mean the riches of that country, it hath been thought fit that they should be thereunto adjoined. Wherein the reader is to be advertised, that although the Spaniards seem to glory much of their formal possession taken before Morequito

requito the lord of Aromaya, and others thereabout, which thoroughly understood them not at that time, whatsoever the Spaniards otherwise pretend; yet, according to the former discourse, and as also it is related by Caworaco, the son of Topiawari, now chief Lord of the said Aromaya, who was brought into England by Sir Walter Ralegh, and was present at the same possession and discovery of the Spaniards mentioned in these letters; it appeareth, that after they were gone out of their country, the Indians then having farther consideration of the matter, and more than conjecture of their intent, having known and heard of their former cruelties upon their borderers and others of the Indians elsewhere; at their next coming, there being ten of them sent and employed for a farther discovery, they were provided to receive and entertain them in another manner of sort than they had done before; that is to say, they slew them, and buried them in the country so much sought. They gave them by that means a full and compleat possession, the which before they had but begun. And so they are minded to do, to as many Spaniards as come after. Other possession they have had none since. Neither do the Indians mean, as they protest, to give them any other. One other thing to be remembered is, that in these letters the Spaniards seem to call Guiana and other countries near it, bordering upon the river of Oroonoko, by the name of Nuevo Dorado, because of the great plenty of gold there in most places to be found; alluding also to the name of El Dorado, which was given by Martinez to the great city of Manoa, as is in the former treatise specified. This is all I thought good to advertise. As for some other matters, I leave them to the consideration and judgment of the indifferent reader.

W. R."

LETTERS taken at Sea by Captain GEORGE POPHAM, 1594.

"ALONSO's *Letter from the Gran Canaria to his Brother, being Commander of S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.*

There have been certain letters received here of late of a land newly discovered, called Nuevo Dorado, from the sons of certain inhabitants of this city, who were in the discovery. They write of wonderful riches to be found in the said Dorado, and that gold there is in great abundance; the course to fall with it is fifty leagues to the windward of Margarita.

ALONSO's

ALONSO's *Letter from thence to certain Merchants of S. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.*

SIRS,

We have no news worth the writing, saving of a discovery lately made by the Spaniards, in a new land called Nuevo Dorado, which is two days sailing to the windward of Margarita; there is gold in such abundance, as the like hath not been heard of. We have it for certain in letters written from thence by some that were in the discovery, unto their parents here in this city. I purpose (God willing) to bestow ten or twelve days in search of the said Dorado, as I pass in my voyage toward Carthagena, hoping there to make some good sale of our commodities. I have sent you therewith part of the information of the said discovery that was sent to His Majesty.

Part of the Copy that was sent to His Majesty of the Discovery of Nuevo Dorado.

In the river of Pato, otherwise called Oroonoko, in the principal part thereof called Warismero, the 23d of April 1593, Domingo de Vera, master of the camp, and general for Antonio de Berreo, governor and captain-general for our lord the king, betwixt the rivers of Pato and Papamene, alias Oroonoko, and Marannon, and of the island of Trinidad, in presence of me Rodorigo de Carança, register for the sea, commanded all the soldiers to be drawn together and put in order of battle, the captains and soldiers, and master of the camp standing in the midst of them, said unto them:—"Sirs, soldiers and captains, you understand long since that our general Antonio de Berreo, with the travel of eleven years, and expence of more than a hundred thousand pesos of gold, discovered the royal provinces of Guiana and Dorado; of the which he took possession to govern the same, but through want of his people's health, and necessary munition, he issued out at the island Margarita, and from thence peopled Trinidad. But now they have sent me to learn out and discover the ways most easily to enter, and to people the said provinces, and where the camps and armies may best enter the same. By reason whereof I intend so to do in the name of His Majesty, and the said governor Antonio de Berreo; and in token thereof, I require you,

Francis

Francis Carillo, that you aid me to advance this cross that lieth here on the ground, which they set on end toward the east." And the said master of the camp, the captains and soldiers kneeled down, and did the reverence unto the said cross; and thereupon the master of the camp took a bowl of water, and drank it off, and took more and threw it abroad on the ground; he also drew out his sword and cut the grass off the ground, and the boughs off the trees, saying, " I take this possession in the name of the king Don Philip, our master, and of his governor Antonio de Berreo." And because some make question of this possession, to them I answer, that in these our actions, was present the cassique or principal, Don Antonio, otherwise called Norequito, whose land this was, who yielded consent to the said possession, was glad thereof, and gave his obedience to our lord the king, and in his name to the said governor Antonio de Berreo. And the said master of the camp kneeled down, being in his liberty, and all the captains and soldiers said, that the possession was well taken; and that they would defend it with their lives, upon whosoever would say the contrary. And the said master of the camp having his sword drawn in his hand said unto me, " register that are here present, give me an instrument or testimonial to confirm me in this possession which I have taken of this land, for the governor Antonio de Berreo, and if it be needful I will take it anew." And I require you all that are present to witness the same; and do farther declare, that I will go on taking possession of all the lands wheresoever I shall enter. Signed thus:

DOMINGO DE VERA.

And underneath,

Before me RODRIGO DE CARANCA,
Register of the Army.

And in prosecution of the said possession, and the discovery of the way and provinces, the 27th of April of the said year, the master of the camp entered by little and little with all the camp and men of war, more than two leagues into the inland, and came to a town of a principal, and conferring with him did let him understand by means of Antonio Bisante the interpreter, that His Majesty and Antonio de Berreo had sent him to take the said possession. And the said friar Francis Carillo, by the interpreter delivered him certain things of our holy catholic faith; to all which

he

he answered, they understood him well, and would become Christians, and that with a very good will they should advance the cross, in what part or place of the town it pleased them, for he was for the governor Antonio de Berreo, who was his master. Thereupon the said master of the camp took a great cross, and set it on end toward the east, and requested the whole camp to witness it. And Domingo de Vera firmed it thus:

It is well and firmly done.
And underneath,
Before me, RODRIGO CRANÇA,
Register of the Army.

The first of May they prosecuted the said possession and discovery to the town on Carapana. From thence the said master of the camp passed to the town of Toroco, whose principal is called Topiawari, being five leagues farther within the land than the first nation, and well inhabited. And to this principal, by means of the interpreter, they gave to understand, that His Majesty and the said corrigidor commanded them to take the possession of that land; and that they should yield their obedience to His Majesty, and to his corrigidor, and to the master of the camp in his name; and that in token thereof he would place a cross in the middle of his town. Whereunto the said cassique answered, they should advance it with a very good will, and that he remained in the obedience of our lord the king, and of the said governor Antonio de Berreo, whose vassal he would be.

The fourth of May we came to a province above five leagues thence, of all sides inhabited with much people. The principal of this people came and met us in peaceable manner; and he is called Revato; he brought us to a very large house, where he entertained us well, and gave us much gold; and the interpreter asking him from whence that gold was, he answered, from a province not passing a day's journey off, where there are so many Indians as would shadow the sun, and so much gold as all yonder plain will not contain it. In which country (when they enter into the borracheras, or their drunken feasts) they take of the said gold in dust, and anoint themselves all over therewith, to make the braver shew; and to the end the gold may cover them, they anoint their bodies with stamped herbs of a gluey substance; and they have war with those Indians. They promised us that if we would go unto them, they would

aid us; but they were such infinite numbers, as no doubt they would kill us. And being asked how they got the same gold, they told us they went to a certain down or plain, and pulled and digged up the grass by the roots; which done, they took of the earth, putting it in great buckets, which they carried to wash at the river, and that which came in powder they kept for their borracheras or drunken feasts, and that which was in pieces they wrought into eagles.

The eighth of May we went from thence, and marched about five leagues. At the foot of a hill we found a principal called Arataco, with three thousand Indians, men and women, all in peace, and with much victual, as hens and venison in great abundance, and many sorts of wine. He intreated us to go to his house, and to rest that night in his town, being of five hundred houses. The interpreter asked whence he had those hens; he said they were brought from a mountain not passing a quarter of a league thence, where were many Indians, yea, so many as grass on the ground, and that these men have the points of their shoulders higher than the crowns of their heads, and had so many hens as was wonderful; and if we would have any, we should send them jew's-harps, for they would give for every one two hens. We took an Indian and gave him five hundred harps; the hens were so many that he brought us, as were not to be numbered. We said we would go thither, they told us they were now in their borracheras, or drunken feasts, and would kill us. We asked the Indian that brought the hens if it were true, he said it was most true. We asked him how they made their borracheras, or drunken feasts; he said, they had many eagles of gold hanging on their breasts, and pearls in ther ears, and that they danced, being all covered with gold. The Indian said unto us, if we would see them we should give him some hatchets, and he would bring us of those eagles. The master of the camp gave him one hatchet, (he would give him no more, because they should not understand we went to seek gold) he brought us an eagle that weighed twenty-seven pounds of good gold. The master of the camp took it and shewed it to the soldiers, and then threw it from him, making shew not to regard it. About midnight came an Indian, and said unto him, give me a pick-axe and I will tell thee what the Indians with the high shoulders mean to do. The interpreter told the master of the camp, who commanded one to be given him; he then told us those Indians were coming to kill us for our merchandise. Hereupon the master of the camp caused his company to be set in order, and

and began to march. The eleventh day of May we went about seven leagues from thence to a province, where we found a great company of Indians apparelled; they told us that if we came to fight they would fill up those plains with Indians to fight with us; but if we came in peace, we should enter and be well entertained of them, because they had a great desire to see Christians; and there they told us of all the riches that was. I do not here set it down, because there is no place for it, but it shall appear by the information that goeth to His Majesty; for if it should here be set down, four leaves of paper would not contain it.

The Letter of GEORGE BURIEN BRITTON, *from the said Canaries unto his Cousin, a Frenchman, dwelling in St. Lucar, concerning El Dorado.*

SIR, AND MY VERY GOOD COUSIN,

There came of late certain letters from a new discovered country not far from Trinidad, which they write hath gold in great abundance; the news seemeth to be very certain, because it passeth for good among the best of this city. Part of the information of the discovery that went to His Majesty, goeth inclosed in Alonso's letters; it is a thing worth the seeing.

The Report of DOMINGO MARTINEZ *of Jamaica, concerning El Dorado.*

He saith that in 1593, being at Carthagena, there was a general report of a late discovery called Nuevo Dorado, and that a little before his coming thither, there came a frigate from the said Dorado, bringing in it the portraiture of a giant all of gold, of weight forty-seven quintals, which the Indians there held for their idol. But now admitting of Christianity and obedience to the king of Spain, they sent their said idol unto him in token they were become Christians, and held him for their king. The company coming in the said frigate, reported gold to be there in most abundance, diamonds of inestimable value, with great store of pearl.

The Report of a Frenchman called BOUNTILLIER *of Sherbrouke, concerning Trinidad and Dorado.*

He saith, that being at Trinidad in 1591, he had of an Indian there a piece of gold of a quarter of a pound in exchange of a knife; the said Indian told him, he had it at the head of that river which cometh to Paracoa in Trinidad; and that within the river of Oroonoko, it was in great abundance. Also in 1593, being taken by the Spaniards, and brought prisoner into the island of Madeira (the place for his prison) there came in this mean-time a bark of forty guns from a new discovery, with two millions of gold; the company whereof reported gold in that place to be in great abundance, and called it El Nuevo Dorado. This Frenchman passed from Spain in the bark, and having a cabin near a gentleman, one of the discoverers that came from that place in the said bark, had divers times conference with him, and among other things, of the great abundance of gold in the said Dorado, being as they said, within the river of Oroonoko.

Reports of certain Merchants of Rio de Hacha, concerning El Nuevo Dorado.

They said (advancing the king's great treasure in the Indies) that Nuevo Reyno yielded very many gold mines, and wonderful rich; but lately was discovered a certain province so rich in gold, as the report thereof may seem incredible, it is there in such abundance, and is called El Nuevo Dorado. Antonio de Berreo made the said discovery.

The Report of a Spaniard, Captain with BERREO *in the Discovery of El Nuevo Dorado.*

That the information sent to the king was in every point truly said, that the river Oroonoko hath seven mouths, or outlets, into the sea, called Las Siete Bocas de Dragon; that the said river runneth far into the land, in many places very broad, and that Antonio de Berreo lay at Trinidad, making head to go and conquer and people the said Dorado."

No. VII.

No. VII.

An Address to the Favourers of the Voyage for Guiana—De Guiana Carmen Epicum, probably by GEORGE CHAPMAN—*Ad Thomam Hariotum de Guiana Carmen, by* KEYMIS.

(From HAKLUYT's Voyages, III. 667—672.)

To the Favourers of the Voyage for Guiana.

" In things earnestly desired, though never so likely, we are still suspicious; thinking it more credit to our common wisdom, to discredit most noble and profitable endeavours with distrust, than touch to our valours and safeties to lie wilfully idle. So that howsoever an action well and judicially attempted, be esteemed half performed; yet is this my jealous conceit concerning Guiana, that nothing is began before all be ended. In this regard (gentle reader) I have presumed to burthen thine ears with the weak plea of a good cause, and instead of opening it thoroughly to thy prudent consideration, to note only mine own unsatisfied affection; hoping that because I do name Guiana unto thee, thou wilt vouchsafe *hoc nomine*, to veil and cover all other my defects in the desert of a good meaning. In publishing this treatise my labour principally tendeth to this end; to remove all fig-leaves from our unbelief, that either it may have cause to shake off the colourable pretences of ignorance, or if we will not be persuaded, that our self-will may rest inexcusable. They that shall apply, and construe this my doing to serve the Spaniard's turn so well as our own; insomuch as it may seem to instruct, warn, and arm him; for their satisfaction herein, they must not be ignorant, that his eyes, in seeing our shipping there, do as effectually inform him, that many of our hearts are toward that place, as if it should be credibly advertised by some corrupt hireling, that we think, write, and discourse of nothing else. Neither can I imagine, that to conceal our knowledge herein (which to conceal may perhaps prove, and be hereafter taken for worse than parricide) would be of better purpose than to hoodwink ourselves, as who would say, no man shall see us. Beside, if the action were wholly to be effected at Her Majesty's charge, then might it at Her Highness' pleasure be shadowed with some other drift, and never be discovered until it were acted. But since it craveth the ap-

pro-

probation and purses of many adventurers, who cannot be so prodigal both of their possessions and lives, as voluntarily to run themselves out of breath, in pursuing they know not what; great reason it is, that where assistance is to be asked, due causes be yielded to persuade and induce them unto it. The Spaniard is not so simple, unsettled, and uncertain in his determinations as to build them on our breath, or to make our papers his bulwarks; nor so slow as to expect a precedent of our forwardness. His proceedings are sufficiently strengthened with the travels, reports, and substantial proofs of his own men, that have above sixty years beaten round about this bush. And to say a truth, the expedition that he hath used in sending so many ships in February last to people this country, and disappoint us; as it doth consequently shew, that he findeth his chiefest force and sinews to consist in gold, so doth he thereby plainly to our faces exprobate our remissness and long deliberations, that in twelve months space have done, or sought to do nothing worthy the ancient fame and reputation of our English nation, interested in so weighty business. His late provision of a new supply of whole families to the number of six hundred persons, bound for Guiana, but that it pleased God, that by means of that right honourable service most resolutely performed in the sea-fight, and sacking of Cadiz, the ships wherein they should have been conveyed were converted into ashes: what might it signify? Certes, as it doth evidently prove, that El Dorado hath undoubted credit and account in their judgments; so pointeth it at us, while we only to entertain idle time sit listening for Guiana news, and instantly forget it, as if it were nought else but a pleasing dream of a golden fancy.

If we with ourselves shall expostulate how this cometh to pass, that the advantage wholly resting on our side, in respect that Berreo was this last year beaten out, the country thoroughly discovered, and the inhabitants made desirous of her sacred Majesty's happy government; they notwithstanding by entering before us, have now gotten the start of us; what may we think? Shall we judge that their native country is less dear, or more wearisome unto them, than ours is unto us? Their Peruleri, who going bare and empty out of Spain, do again within three or four years return from Peru, rich and in good estate, do apparently disprove all such conceits of them. Shall we say that they have more spare men to be employed in such actions? It is no secret to know the contrary. Are they subject to penury? In all parts of Christendom, where money is not scant, all other things are plentiful. Or is their land not able to sustain

tain their numbers of people? They buy many slaves to follow their husbandry, and themselves disdaining base idleness and beggary, do all honour military profession, highly esteeming it in their mercenaries and strangers. Is it then want of ability in those that are willing, lack of encouragement, or default of speedy order and direction for those that do voluntarily offer themselves, their substance, and best endeavour to farther this cause, that maketh us to be thus coated of the Spaniard? The first is no question; the latter needeth no answer. The profit then by their example to be gathered, is not to lose opportunity by delay, or to seem fearful and dismayed, where there is no cause of doubt. For as yet their post-haste doth no way prejudice our advised leisure in setting forward, since their preparations of negroes to work in the mines, their horses, cattle, and other necessaries may (by the favour of God) at our first coming, both store us with quantities of gold ore, and ease us of much trouble, pains, and travail. If we should suppose ourselves now to live in the days of king Henry VII. of famous memory, and the strange report of a West Indies, or new world abounding with great treasure should entice us to believe it; perhaps it might be imputed for some blame to the gravity of wise men, lightly to be carried with the persuasion and hope of a new found Utopia, by such a one as Columbus was, being an alien, and many ways subject to suspicion. But since the penance of that incredulity lieth even now heavy on our shoulders, the example forethreatening, I know not what repentance; and that we have the personal trial of so honourable and sufficient a reporter, our own countryman: let it be far from us to condemn ourselves in that, which so worthily we reprove in our predecessors, and to let our idle knowledge content itself with naked contemplation, like a barren womb in a monastery. We cannot deny that the chief commendation of virtue doth consist in action; we truly say, that *otium* is *animæ vivæ sepultura;* we believe, that perfect wisdom in this mobility of all humain affairs, refuseth not with any price to purchase safety; and we justly do acknowledge, that the Castilians from bare-legged mountaineers have attained to their greatness by labour and industry. To sleep then, because it costeth nothing; to embrace the present time, because it flattereth us with deceitful contentment; and to kiss security, saying, *what evil happeneth unto us?* is the plain highway to a fearful downfall; from which the Lord in his mercy deliver us, and give us an understanding heart, in time to see and to seek that which belongeth unto our peace.

De

De Guiana Carmen Epicum.

WHAT work of honour and eternal name,
For all the world t'envy and us t'achieve,
Fills me with fury, and gives armed hands
To my heart's peace, that else would gladly turn
My limbs and every sense into my thoughts
Rapt with the thirsted action of my mind?
O Clio! Honour's muse, sing in my voice,
Tell the attempt, and prophecy th' exploit
Of his Eliza-consecrated sword,
That in this peaceful charm of England's sleep,
Opens most tenderly her aged throat,
Off'ring to pour fresh youth through all her veins,
That flesh of brass and ribs of steel retains.

Riches, and conquest, and renown I sing,
Riches with honour, conquest without blood,
Enough to seat the monarchy of earth,
Like to Jove's eagle on Eliza's hand.
Guiana, whose rich feet are mines of gold,
Whose forehead knocks against the roof of stars,
Stands on her tip-toes at fair England looking,
Kissing her hand, bowing her mighty breast,
And every sign of all submission making,
To be her sister, and the daughter both
Of our most sacred maid; whose barrenness
Is the true fruit of virtue, that may get,
Bear, and bring forth anew in all perfection,
What heretofore savage corruption held
In barbarous Chaos, and in this affair
Become her father, mother, and her heir.

Then, most admired Sovereign, let your breath
Go forth upon the waters, and create
A golden world in this our iron age,
And be the prosp'rous forewind to a fleet,

That

That seconding your last, may go before it
In all success of profit and renown;
Doubt not but your election was divine,
(As well by Fate as your high judgment order'd)
To raise him with choice bounties, that could add
Height to his height; and like a liberal vine,
Not only bear his virtuous fruit aloft,
Free from the press of squint-eyed Envy's feet,
But deck his gracious prop with golden bunches,
And shroud it with broad leaves of rule o'ergrown,
From all black tempests of invasion.

Those conquests that like general earthquakes shook
The solid world, and made it fall before them,
Built all their brave attempts on weaker grounds,
And less persuasive likelihoods than this;
Nor was there ever princely fount so long
Pour'd forth a sea of rule with so free course,
And such ascending majesty as you;
Then be not like a rough and violent wind,
That in the morning rends the forests down,
Shoves up the seas to heaven, makes earth to tremble,
And tombs his wasteful bravery in the even;
But as a river from a mountain running,
The farther he extends, the greater grows,
And by his thrifty race strengthens his stream,
Even to join battle with th' imperious sea
Disdaining his repulse, and in despight
Of his proud fury, mixeth with his main,
Taking on him his titles and commands;
So let thy sovereign empire be encreas'd,
And with Iberian Neptune part the stake,
Whose trident he the triple world would make.

You then that would be wise in wisdom's spight,
Directing with discredit of direction,
And hunt for honour, hunting him to death.

With whom before you will inherit gold,
You will lose gold, for which you lose your souls;
You that chuse nought for right, but certainty,
And fear that valour will get only blows,
Placing your faith in incredulity.
Sit till you see a wonder, virtue rich;
Till honour having gold, rob gold of honour,
Till as men hate desert that getteth nought,
They loath all getting that deserves not ought;
And use you gold-made men as dregs of men;
And till you poisoned souls, like spiders lurking
In sluttish chinks, in mists of cobwebs hide
Your foggy bodies, and your dunghill pride.

O Incredulity! the wit of fools,
That slovenly will spit on all things fair,
The coward's castle, and the sluggard's cradle,
How easy 'tis to be an infidel!

But you patrician spirits that refine
Your flesh to fire, and issue like a flame
On brave endeavours, knowing that in them
The tract of heaven in morn-like glory opens,
That know you cannot be the kings of earth,
(Claiming the rights of your creation)
And let the mines of earth be kings of you;
That are so far from doubting likely drifts,
That in things hardest you're most confident;
You that know death lives, where power lives unus'd,
Joying to shine in waves that bury you,
And so make way for life even through your graves;
That will not be content like horse to hold,
A thread-bare beaten way to home affairs;
But where the sea in envy of your reign,
Closeth her womb, as fast as 'tis disclos'd,
That she like Avarice might swallow all,
And let none find right passage through her rage;

There your wise souls as swift as Eurus lead
Your bodies through, to profit and renown,
And scorn to let your bodies choke your souls,
In the rude breath and prison'd life of beasts;
You that herein renounce the course of earth,
And lift your eyes for guidance to the stars,
That live not for yourselves, but to possess
Your honour'd country of a general store;
In pity of the spoil rude self-love makes,
Of them whose lives and yours one air doth feed,
One soil doth nourish, and one strength combine;
You that are bless'd with sense of all things noble,
In this attempt your complete worths redouble.

But how is Nature at her heart corrupted,
(I mean even in her most ennobled birth)
How in excess of sense is sense bereft her!
That her most lightning-like effects of lust
Wound through her flesh, her soul, her flesh unwounded;
And she must need incitements to her good,
Even from that part she hurts! O how most like
Art thou (heroic author of this act)
To this wrong'd soul of Nature, that sustainst
Pain, charge, and peril for thy country's good,
And she much like a body numb'd with surfeits,
Feels not thy gentle applications
For the health, use, and honour of her powers!
Yet shall my verse through all her ease-lock'd ears,
Trumpet the noblesse of thy high intent;
And if it cannot into act proceed,
The fault and bitter penance of the fault,
Make red some others eyes with penitence,
For thine are clear; and what more nimble spirits,
Apter to bite at such unhooked baits,
Gain by our loss; that must we needs confess
Thy princely valour would have purchas'd us.
Which shall be fame eternal to thy name,

Though thy contentment in thy grave desires,
Of our advancement, fail deserv'd effect.
O how I fear thy glory which I love,
Least it should dearly grow by our decrease!
Natures that stick in golden-gravel'd springs,
In muck-pits cannot 'scape their swallowings.

But we shall forth I know; gold is our fate,
Which all our acts doth fashion and create.

Then in the Thespiad's bright prophetic fount,
Methinks I see our liege rise from her throne,
Her ears and thoughts in steep amaze erected,
At the most rare endeavour of her power.
And now she blesseth with her wonted graces
Th' industrious knight, the soul of this exploit,
Dismissing him to convoy of his stars.
And now for love and honour of his worth,
Our twice-born nobles bring him bridegroom-like,
That is espous'd for virtue to his love,
With feasts and music ravishing the air,
To his Argolian fleet, where round about
His bating colours English valour swarms
In haste, as if Guianian Orenoque
With his fell waters fell upon our shore.
And now a wind as forward as their spirits,
Sets their glad feet on smooth Guiana's breast,
Where (as if each man were an Orpheus)
A world of savages fall tame before them,
Storing their theft-free treasuries with gold,
And there doth Plenty crown their wealthy fields,
There Learning eats no more his thriftless books,
Nor Valour estridge-like his iron arms.
There Beauty is no strumpet for her wants,
Nor Gallic humours purify her blood;
But all our youth take Hymen's lights in hand,
And fill each roof with honour'd progeny.

There makes Society adamantine chains,
And joins their hearts with wealth, whom wealth disjoin'd.
There healthful recreations strew their meads,
And make their mansions dance with neighbourhood,
That here were drown'd in churlish Avarice.
And there do palaces and temples rise
Out of the earth, and kiss th' enamour'd skies,
Where new Britannia humbly kneels to Heaven,
The world to her, and both at her blest feet,
In whom the circles of all empire meet.

G. C.

Ad THOMAM HARIOTUM MATHESEOS, *et universæ Philosophiæ peritissimum, de Guiana Carmen. Dat. Anno.* 1595.

Montibus est regio, quasi muris, obsita, multis:
Circumsepit aquis quos Raleana suis.
Intus habet largos Guaiana recessus:
Hostili gestans libera colla jugo.
Hispanus clivis illis sudavit, et alsit
Septem annos, novies; nec tamen invaluit.
Numen, et omen inest numeris. Fatale sit illi;
Et nobis virtus sit recidiva, precor.
Gualtero patefacta via est duce et auspice Ralegh
Mense uno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?
Nocte dieque, datis velis, remisque laborans,
Exegit summæ dexteritatis opus.
Scilicit expensis magnis non ille pepercit,
Communi natus consuluisse bono.
Providus excubuit simili discrimine Joseph;
Sic fratres, fratrem deseruêre suum;
Fama coloratam designet si bona, vestem;
Vestis scissa malis sic fuit illa modis.
Miraleges. Auresque animumque tuum arrige. Tellus
Hæc aurum, et gemmas graminis instar, habet.
Ver ibi perpetuum est: ibi prodiga terra quotannis
Luxuriat, sola fertilitate nocens.

Anglia

Anglia nostra licet dives sit, et undique fœlix:
Anglia, si confers, indigna frugis erit.
Expertes capitum, volucres piscesque ferasque
Prætereo: haud prosunt, quæ novitate, placent.
Est ibi, vel nusquam, quod quærimus. Ergo petamus:
Det Deus, hanc Canaan possideamus. Amen.

Tui Amantiss. L. K.

No. VIII.

A Table of the Names of the Rivers, Nations, Towns, and Cassiques or Captains discovered in the Second Guiana Voyage—the Names of those worthy Spaniards who have sought to discover and conquer Guiana—and an Advertisement to the Reader.

(From HAKLUYT's Voyages, III. 687—692.)

A Table of the Names of the Rivers, Nations, Towns and Cassiques, or Captains, that in this Second Voyage were discovered.

	Rivers.	*Nations.*	*Towns.*	*Captains.*
1	Arowari, *great.*	Arwaos, Pararweas, Charibes.		
2	Iwaripoco, *very great.*	Mapurwanas. Iaos.		
3	Maipari, *great.*	Arricarri.		
4	Caipurogh, *great.*	Arricurri.		
5	Arcooa, *great.*	Marowannas, Charibes.		
6	Wiapoco, *great.*	Coonoracki, Wacacoia, Wariseaco.		
7	Wanari.	Charibes.		
8	Capurwacka, *great.*	Charibes.		
9	Cawo, *great.*	Iaos.	Icoomana.	Wareo.
10	Wia, *great.*	Maworia, Charib. Wiaco, Ch.	Parammona, *great.*	Mashwipo.

1. These are enemies to the Iaos, their money is of white and green stones. They speak the Tivitivas' language; so likewise do the nation of the Aricarri, who have greater store of those monies than any others.

2. Here it was as it seemeth, that Vincent Pinçon the Spaniard had his emeralds. In one of these two rivers certain Frenchmen that suffered shipwreck some two or three years since do live.

3, 4, 5. These with the other two seem to be branches of the great river of Amazons. When we first fell with land, we were by the Indians' report, but one day's journey from the greatest river that is on that coast.

6. The first mountains that appear within land, do lie on the east side of this river. From the mouth thereof the inhabitants do pass with their canoes in twenty days to the salt lake, where Manoa standeth. The water hath many cataracts like Caroli, but that they are of greater distance one from another; where it falls into the sea.

	Rivers.	Nations.	Towns.	Captains.
11	Caiane, *great.*	Wiaco. Ch.	Canawi, *great.*	Parawatteo.
	Gowateri, *a great island.*	Shebaios.	Orinikero.	
12	Macuria.	Piraos. Ch.		
13	Cawroora.	Arawaccos, Charib.		
14	Manmanuri.	Ipaios. Ch.		
15	Cureey.	Shebaios.		
16	Curassawini.	Shebaios.	Musswara, *great.*	Ocapanio.
17	Cunanama.	Iaos.	Waritappi, *great.*	Carinamari.
		Arwaccas.		Curipotoore.
18	Uracco.	Arwaccas.		Marwabo.
	Moruga.	Arwaccas.		Eramacoa.
19	Mawari.	Winicinas.	Iwanama.	Aranacoa.
		Arwaccas.		
20	Mawarpari.	Arwaccas.	Awaricana.	Mahaho-nero.
21	Amonna, *very great.*	Charibes.	Iaremappo, *very great.*	
	Capeleppo, *great.*			
22	Marawani, *great.*	Paracuttos.		
23	Owcowi.			
24	Wiawiami.			
25	Aramatappo.			
26	Wiapo.			
27	Macuruma.			
28	Carapi.			
29	Uraca.			
30	Chaimawinini, *great.*	Carepini.		
		Charib.		
31	Ecrowto.	Upotommas		Caponaiarie.
32	Pawro.	Arwaccas.	Maripom-ma.	
33	Shurinama, *great.*	Carepini.		
		Chari.		
34	Shurama, *great.*	Carepini.	Cupari.	
		Char.		
35	Northumbria, *or* Cupana, *very great.*	Arwaccas.		
36	Wioma.		Tawroo-mene.	
37	Cushwini.	Neekeari.		Neperwari.

sea, hills do inclose it on both sides.

10. The freshet shoots out into the sea with great force; the sea doth here sometimes camp high and break, as if it were full of rocks; but in proof it is nothing else but the pride and force of the tides. In this bay, and round about, so far as the mountains do extend, there is great store of brasil-wood, some of it bearing far darker colour than other some. Here are also many sorts of other good woods.

14. These speak the language of the Indians of Dominica. They are but few, but very cruel to their enemies. For they bind and eat them alive piecemeal. This torment is not comparable to the deadly pain that cometh of hurts or wounds, made by those arrows that are envenomed with the juice of the herb wapotóto. These Indians, because they eat them whom they kill, use no poison. The sea-coast is nowhere populous, for they have much wasted themselves in mutual wars. But now in all parts so far as Orenoque, they live in league and peace.

21. Near the head of this river, Capeleppo falleth out of the plains, and runneth into the sea with Curitini. Some of the Guianians live in this river.

39. This

	Rivers.	*Nations.*	*Towns.*	*Captains.*
38	Inana, *great.*	Carepini.	Owaripoore.	
39	Curitini, *great.*	Arwaccas. Parawianni.	Mawronama.	
40	Winitwari, *great.*		Maiapoore. Cariwacka.	
41	Berbice, *great.*	Arwaccas.	Aneta. Manacobeece. Eppera. Parawiannos Lupulee.	Warawaroco.
42	Wapari.	Shebaios. Arwaccas.	Madewini.	Benmurwagh.
43	Muicawini.	Panapi. Arwaccas.	Itewee,	Caporaco, *great cap.*
44	Mahawaica.	Arwaccas.	Maburesa, *great.*	
45	Lemerare, *great.*	Wacawaios.	Maburesa, *great.*	
46	Devoritia *or* Dessekebe, *very great.*	Arwaccas. Iaos. Shebaios. Arwaccas.		
	Matorooni.	Charibes.		
	Coowini.	Maripai.		
	Chipanama.	Wocowaios.		
	Arawanna.	Parawianni.		
	Itorebece.	Iwarewakeri.	Caiaremappo. Waroopana.	
47	Pawrooma, *great.*	Iaos.	Maripa. Chipariparo.	Macapowa.
	Aripacoro.	Panipi.	Towtwi. Sarinbugh.	Shuracoima.
	Ecawini.		Wariwagh.	
	Manurawini.			
48	Moruga, *great.*	Iaos.	Cooparoore, *great.*	Manarecowa.
	Piara.	Arwaccas.	Awaipari.	
	Chaimeragoro.		Topoo.	Iarwanrema.
49	Waini, *great.*	Charibes.	Tocoopoima *great.*	Parana.
50	Barima, *great.*	Charibes.	Pekwa, *gr.*	Anawra.
	Caitooma.	Arwaccas.	Arwakima.	Aparwa.
	Arooca.			Arracurri.
51	Amacur, *great.*			
52	Aratoori, *great.*			
	Cawrooma, *great.*			
	Raleana, *or* Orenoque.			
	Maipar, Itacaponea, Owarecapater.	Islands in the mouth of Raleana.		
	Warucanasso.			

39. This river, as also most of the rest, is not navigable above six days' journey by reason of rocks. It is ten days journey to the head, where the Guianians do dwell. Honey, yarn or cotton, silk, balsamum, and brasil-beds, are here to be had in plenty, and so all the coast along eastward. Some images of gold, spleen-stones, and others, may be gotten on this coast, but they do somewhat extraordinarily esteem of them, because every where they are current money. They get their moons, and other pices of gold, by exchange, taking for each one of their greater canoes, one piece or image of gold, with three heads; and after that rate for their lesser canoes, they receive pieces of gold of less value. One hatchet is the ordinary price for a canoe. They have everywhere divers sorts of drugs, gums, and roots, which I doubt not by farther trial, will be found medicinable.

Names of poisoned Herbs.

Ourari. } { Apareepo.
Carassi. } { Parapara.

Herbs good against Poison.

Turara. } { Wapo.
Cutarapama. } { *Macatto.*

The 29th day of June we arrived in Portland-road, having spent five months in going, staying, and returning.

Here

Here follow the Names of those worthy Spaniards that have sought to discover and conquer Guiana; extracted out of the Writings of JUAN DE CASTELLANOS CLERIGO, *who compiled the Book intituled,* Primera Parte de las Elegias de Varones Illustres de Indias.

THE enterprise of Guiana was undertaken by Diego de Ordas of the kingdom of Leon, in the year 1531. He was one of the captains of Cortes in the conquest of Mexico. This Ordas made his entrance by the river of Amana, by which we entered, and spent fifty days before he came to the river of Orenoque, which we passed in fifteen. He named the river by which he entered, Viapari; which name it still retaineth in the Spanish descriptions. It lieth south from Trinidad some five leagues. He transported out of Spain a thousand soldiers. He died afterward at sea in returning for Spain.

2. Juan Corteso arrived at the river of Amazons or Orellana with three hundred men; he marched up into the country. But neither he nor any of his company did return again.

3. Gaspar de Sylva, with his two brothers, departed from Tencriff, accompanied with two hundred men to assist Diego de Ordas. They sought El Dorado by the river of Amazons; but staying there a short time they fell down to Trinidad, where they all three were buried.

4. Juan Gonsales set sail from Trinidad to discover Guiana. He reposed himself more on the faith of his guides, than on his small number of men. He by trial found the confines of Guiana, so far as he entered, to be populous, plentiful of victual, and rich in gold. Upon such proofs as he brought with him, to make good his report, many others adventured to follow his steps.

5, 6. Philip de Vren, and after him Pedro de Limpias, who both successively commanded the Almains, were leaders in this action. Limpias was slain by an Indian cassique named Porima.

7. Jeronimo de Ortol undertook it by the way of Maracapana. After great travail, and his substance all spent, he died on the sudden at St. Domingo.

8, 9. Ximenes, brother of Don Ximenes de Quesida the Adelantado, and Pedro de Orsua were both at sundry times in the same conquest.

10. Father Iala, a friar, taking with him only one companion, and some Indian guides passed into the provinces of Guiana. He returned

with good intelligence, and brought with him eagles, idols, and other jewels of gold, Anno 1560. He assayed the second time to pass in like manner, but was slain by the Indians.

11. Hernandez de Serpa also undertook it. The Indians of Cumanawgoto killed him, and defeated his army.

12. Afterward, Diego de Vargas, and his son Don Juan followed this enterprise, and at their first setting out were slain by the Indians.

13. Caceres undertook this discovery from Nuevo Reyno de Granada. He came no nearer to it than Matachines, which borders upon the said kingdom of Granada. He rested there and peopled that place.

14. It was also attempted by Alonço de Herera, at two several times. He endured great misery, but never entered one league into the country. He sought it by Viapari or Amana, and was at last slain by a nation of Indians called Xaguas.

15. It was also undertaken by Antonio Sedenno, with whom Herera and Augustine Delgado joined in the conquest of Trinidad, against Bawcunar, a famous king of that place. He passed by Maracapana in the year 1536 to discover El Dorado with five hundred chosen men. In this journey he got much gold, and took many Indian prisoners, whom he manacled in irons; and many of them died as they were led in the way. The tigers being fleshed on those dead carcasses assaulted the Spaniards, who with much trouble hardly defended themselves from them. Sedenno was buried within the precinct of the empire near the head of the river Tinados. Most of his people perished likewise.

16. Augustine Delgado searched the country to the southward of Cumanawgoto with fifty-three foot-men, and three horse-men. The wars that were then between the Indians of the vale and those of the mountains, served well for his purpose. By which occasion he found means to pass so far, until he came to an Indian casique, named Garamental, who entertained him with all kindness, and gave him for a present some rich jewels of gold, six seemly pages, ten young slaves, and three nymphs very beautiful, which bare the names of three provinces from whence they were sent to Garamental chief commander of all that country. Their names were Guanba, Gotoguane, and Maiarare. These provinces are of an excellent temperature, very healthful, and have an admirable influence in producing fair women. The Spaniards afterward to requite the manifold courtesies that they received in that country, took and carried away, beside all the gold that they could yet, all the Indians that they could

lay

lay hold on; they conveyed them in irons to Cubagua, and sold them for slaves. Delgado afterward was shot in the eye by an Indian, of which hurt he died.

17. Diego de Losada succeeded in his brother's place. He had many more men, who in the end wasted themselves in mutinies; those that lived returned to Cubagua.

18. Reynoso undertook this journey, but having endured exceeding troubles, in the discomfort of his mind he gave it over, and was buried in Hispaniola.

19. Pedro de Orsua in the year 1560, sought it with four hundred Spaniards by the river of Orellana. He embarked his men in the country of the Motijones. As they passed down the river they found cinnamon-trees. His men murdered him, and afterward the said rebels beheaded lady Anes, his wife, who forsook not her lord in all his travels unto death.

20. Friar Francis Montesino was in the province of Maracapana with an hundred soldiers, bound for Guiana, when Lopez Aguirri the tyrant, made insurrection in all those parts of the Indies. What became of this intended journey is not expressed.

In this discovery of Guiana, you may read both of Orellana who discovered the river of Amazones, An. 1542, and of Berreo, with others that have trod this maze, and lost themselves in seeking to find this country.

An Advertisement to the Reader.

In this breviary, the names only are comprised of such, as being led with the general fame of Guiana, have endeavoured to discover and possess it. The whole histories are long and cannot suddenly be translated or Englished at large, as we in these elegies find them. It may perhaps seem strange and incredible, that so many cavalleros should all fail in this one attempt, since in many parts of the Indies, far smaller numbers in shorter time have performed as great matters, and subdued mighty kingdoms. I have therefore thought it good here to alledge those reasons, which, by circumstance may be gathered to have been chief impediments to the Spaniard in this intended search and conquest.

The first may be the remoteness or distance of their places of rendezvous from El Dorado; which appear to be four, Nuevo Reyno, the mouth of

Amazones or Orellana, Cubagua, or the coast of the Caracas, and Trinidad.

1. From Moiobamba, where Orellana hath his head spring, to his mouth, the Spaniards account it two thousand leagues. Raleana riseth near the said mountains in Moiobamba, and tributeth his waters to the sea, not far from the other; Guiana is environed with these two freshwater-seas, where their distance is greatest from their risings, and is beside guarded with impassable mountains which inclose and defend it on all parts excepting Topiawari's country. It is no marvel then, if the vigour, heart, and life of those Spaniards, who sought it from Nuevo Reyno, were allayed and spent, before they came near to it, in those long, desolate, and uncomfortable ways.

2. From Cubagua to seek it by sea in vessels of any burthen, is a work of far greater labour than to sail directly from Spain. And to pass overland is a matter of great difficulty, by reason that the Indian nations inhabiting between the coast of the Caracas and Guiana, being wearied and harried with the daily incursions of the Spaniards, have now turned their abused patience into fury, refusing to suffer any forces of men to be led through their countries. For the Spaniards travelling in those parts, when they found not gold answerable to their expectation, overlaid them with cruelties, tyranny, and thraldom; forbearing neither men, women, friends, nor foes. Which manner of dealing, though in some part it satisfied their desire of present profit; yet hath it otherwise done them much harm in hardening and driving those nations to desperate resolutions.

3. From the mouth of Orellana to seek entrance with any number of men, and to bore a hole through the mountains, is all one. Neither find we, that any seeking it that way, have at any time boasted of their gains or pleasurable journeys.

4. From Trinidad, as the course is shortest, so doth it promise best likelihood of success. Howbeit, impossible it is with any vessel of ordinary burthen by that way to recover the river of Raleana.

The second; the Spaniards have been so far from helping and farthering one another, or admitting partners or coadjutors in the Guiana cause, that among so many attempts, from the beginning to the last, I cannot find any one, when they were otherwise likeliest to prevail, free from discords, mutinies, and cruel murders among themselves.

Thirdly:

Thirdly; the Spaniards in this place have missed that advantage, which elsewhere hath steaded themselves in all their conquests; namely, the dissentions and mutual wars of the Indians. Which of what force it is, may be gathered by the example Arauco in Chili. For the Indians of that one province, containing in circuit not above twenty leagues, have maintained wars above these thirty years against all the Spaniards, and in despite of them have kept their own country, oftentimes discomfitting their enemies in many set battles, burning, and destroying some of their strongest towns. The chief reason whereof I take to be, because no Indian nation was enemy unto them. And howsoever the Spaniards vaunt of their redoubted exploits in the Indies, yet do their own writings in effect testify, that without the aid of the Indians, divided among themselves, Mexico, Peru, and the rest, had never been Spanish.

Lastly; I can impute it to no cause so rightly, as immediately to the Divine Providence: for by him princes reign. And in my belief (except we will look to be warned by miracle from heaven) we need no farther assurances, than we already have to persuade ourselves that it hath pleased God of his infinite goodness, in his will and purpose to appoint and reserve this empire for us.

No. IX.

Concessio pro Waltero Ralegh Milite Officii Gubernatoris et Capitanei Insulæ de Jersey.

(From Rymer's Fœdera, XVI. 398.)

Regina omnibus, ad quos, &c. Salutem.

Sciatis quòd nos,

Tam pro et in consideratione boni et fidelis servitii, per dilectum et fidelem servientem nostrum Walterum Ralegh militem nobis antehac impensi et imposterùm impendendi, quàm pro diversis aliis causis et considerationibus nos ad præsens specialiter moventibus,

De gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentes, pro nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, damus et concedimus eidem Waltero Ralegh officium Gubernatoris et Capitanei *Insulæ nostræ de Jersey et Castri nostri de Gurry*

aliis

aliàs de Mountorgyll, unà cum omnibus talibus vadiis feodis messuagiis terris tenementis redditibus reventionibus servitiis jurisdictionibus auctoritatibus privilegiis commoditatibus ac proficuis quibuscumque, eidem officio debitis sive consuetis, ratione vel prætextu dicti officii perceptis habitis usitatis vel receptis, qualia Amicius Pawlet pater vel Antonius Pawlet filius milites jam defuncti, nuper gubernatores et capitanei insulæ prædictæ, aut aliquis alius gubernator sive capitaneus in officio prædicto habuit sive percepit, habuerunt seu perceperunt, seu habere percipere aút gaudere debuerunt, aut aliquis eorum debuit, unà cum omnibus aliis feodis redditibus proficuis juribus commoditatibus et emolumentis quibuscumque eidem officio quovismodo pertinentibus sive spectantibus, ac præfatum Walterum Ralegh CUSTODEM GUBERNATOREM et CAPITANEUM eorundem insulæ et castri, per has literas nostras patentes, facimus ordinamus et constituimus ; quod quidem officium in manibus et dispositione nostris existit ratione mortis prædicti Antonii Pawlet ;

Habendum gaudendum excercendum occupandum tenendum et possidendum officium prædictum, et cætera præmissa cum pertinentiis, præfato Waltero Ralegh per seipsum, vel per sufficientem deputatum suum sive per sufficientes Deputatos suos, pro termino vitæ ejusdem Walteri, ac habendum gaudendum et annuatim percipiendum in et pro officio prædicto prædicta vadia feoda mesuagia terras tenementa redditus reventiones commoditates et proficua, tàm per manus suas proprias, quam per manus firmariorum et tenentium nostrorum insulæ prædictæ.

Ac de abundantiori gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, damus et concedimus præfato Waltero manerium sive dominium nostrum vocatum Saint Germayne alias manerium sive dominum de Saint Germain infra insulam prædictam, cum omnibus mesuagiis terris tenementis pratis pascuis redditibus reventionibus, et cæteris hæreditamentis commoditatibus et proficuis quibuscumque, cum suis pertinentiis dicto manerio spectantibus sive pertinentibus, per quodcumque nomen censeatur sive reputetur, ac omnia mesuagia terras tenementa redditus reventiones proficua et hæreditamenta nostra quæcumque, quondam parcella, sive pertinentia aut quoquomodo spectantia nuper Prioratui de le Islet de Saint Hillier in dicta insula, unà cum omnibus advocationibus ecclesiarum et aliorum ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum quorumcumque, nobis infra insulam prædictam spectantibus sive pertinentibus ;

Habendum gaudendum et tenendum manerium sive dominium prædictum

dictum cum pertinentiis, ac omnia prædicta mesuagia terras tenementa redditus reventiones proficua et hæreditamenta quæcumque; quondam parcella, sive pertinentia aut quoquomodo spectantia dicto nuper Prioratui de Islet, unà cum omnibus prædictis advocationibus ecclesiarum et aliorum ecclesiasticorum beneficiorum quorumcumque, nobis infra insulam prædictam spectantibus sive pertinentibus, præfato Waltero Ralegh pro et durante termino vitæ naturalis ipsius Walteri.

Damus etiam, et de ulteriori gratia nostra, certa scientia et mero motu nostris, pro nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, concedimus præfato Waltero Ralegh, tàm omnia et singula proficua exitus reventiones et emolumenta sigilli nostri insulæ prædictæ, et venditiones omnium terrarum ejusdem insulæ, quàm guardiam terrarum et maritagiorum, et cætera proficua commoditates et revensiones omnium tenentium nostrorum in insula prædicta infra ætatem existentium et essend. cùm et quandocumque nobis vel ad manus nostras hæredum vel successorum nostrorum acciderint vel spectare debuerint.

Habenda gaudenda et tenenda præfato Waltero Ralegh et assignatis suis, pro termino vitæ naturalis ipsius Walteri;

Damus etiam, et per præsentes, pro nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, concedimus præfato Waltero, quòd ipse idem Walterus et deputati sui habeant et habere debeant plenam potestatem et auctoritatem recipere homagium fidelitatem et ligeum quorumcumque hominum et tenentium, infra insulam prædictam commorantium et imposterùm commorandorum, et salvos conductiones et salvas gardias quibuscumque mercatoribus, illuc causâ mercandizandi confluentibus, dare et concedere, necnon constituere facere et deputare omnes et singulos officiarios in prædicta insula necesssarios et consuetos, ac etiam concedere eis et eorum cuilibet vadia feoda et regarda in illa parte debita et consueta, habenda et annuatim percipienda pro termino vitæ suæ de exitibus proficuis commoditatibus et reventionibus prædictis, cæteraque omnia et singula facere quæ pro bono et salvo regimine dictæ insulæ et castri nostri prædictorum necessaria fuerint seu quomodolibet oportuna, quodque ipse idem Walterus et deputati sui, omnia reditus reventiones et proficua quæcumque, nobis infra insulam prædictam qualitercumque pertinentia spectantia sive crescentia, tenere habere colligere et percipere valeant et valeat, custodiant et custodiat, et ea omnia unà cum vadiis et feodis, ac aliis in hac parte debitis sive incumbentibus, ac ulteriùs vadia et feoda officiariorum

nostrorum

nostrorum hæredum et successorum nostrorum, ac alia necessaria pro salva custodia munitione et tuitione insulæ et castri prædictorum omninò ad usum ipsius Walteri Ralegh, pro et durante vitâ naturali ipsius Walteri, recipere convertere retinere et habere valeant et valeat, a tempore mortis prædicti Antonii Pawlet, absque compoto seu aliquo alio proinde nobis hæredibus vel successoribus nostris quoquomodo reddendo solvendo vel faciendo ;

Volumus nihilominus, et per præsentes reservamus nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, durante totâ vitâ ipsius Walteri, pro et ex custumis dictæ insulæ reventionibus proficuis et emolumentis, cæterisque omnibus et singulis præmissis præconcessis, annualem redditum *trecentarum librarum* legalis monetæ Angliæ, solvendum annuatim per præfatum Walterum Ralegh nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris, ad duos anni terminos usuales ; videlicet, ad festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ Virginis per æquales portiones, ad receptam scaccarii nostri hæredum et successorum nostrorum ; proviso semper quòd si prædictus annualis redditus aut aliqua inde parcella, nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris per præsentes reservatus, a retro fuerit et insolutus, in parte vel in toto, per spacium quadraginta dierum post aliquod festum festorum prædictorum in quo solvi debeat, tunc quotiescunque Thesaurarius noster Angliæ, vel Subthesaurarius Scaccarrii nostri prædicti pro tempore existentes aut eorum aliquis, notitiam inde dederint vel dederit dicto Waltero aut suo deputato prædicto, si prædictus annualis redditus, aut aliqua inde parcella, nobis hæredibus et successoribus nostris a retro fuerit et insolutus, per spatium triginta dierum post aliquam notitiam sic ut præfertur datam, extunc hæ literæ nostræ patentes, et omnes auctoritates jurisdictiones res et concessiones in eisdem contentæ, vacuæ erunt et nullius in lege vigoris, aliquo in præsentibus non obstantibus.

Eo quòd expressa mentio, &c.

In cujus rei, &c.

Teste Regina apud Westmonasterium vicesimo sexto die Augusti.

Per ipsam Reginam.

No. X.

A brief Relation of Sir WALTER RALEGH's *Troubles, with the taking away the Lands and Castle of Sherborne, in* DORSET, *from him and his Heirs, being his indubitable Inheritance.*

(Published in 4to, 1669, and reprinted in Birch's Works of Ralegh, I. cxiv.)

" *To the Right Honourable the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, the humble Petition of* CAREW RALEGH, *Esq. only Son of Sir* WALTER RALEGH, *late deceased.*

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT whereas your petitioner conceiveth that his late father, Sir Walter Ralegh, was most unjustly and illegally condemned and executed, and his lands and castle of Sherborne wrongfully taken from him and his, as may more at large appear by this brief narrative hereunto annexed, the particulars whereof your petitioner is upon due proofs ready to make good: your petitioner therefore humbly submitting to the great justice and integrity of this house (which is noway more manifested than by relieving the oppressed) humbly craveth, that he may receive such satisfaction for these his great oppressions and losses, as to the wisdom and clemency of this honourable house shall seem fit,

And your petitioner shall humbly pray, &c.

When King James came into England, he found Sir Walter Ralegh, by the favour of his late mistress, Queen Elizabeth, Lord-warden of the Stannaries, Lord-lieutenant of Devonshire and Cornwall, Captain of the Guard, and Governor of the Isle of Jersey; with a large possession of lands both in England and Ireland. The king for some weeks used him with great kindness, and was pleased to acknowledge divers presents which he had received from him being in Scotland, for which he gave him thanks. But finding him (as he said himself) a martial man, addicted to foreign affairs and great actions, he feared lest he should engage him in a war, a thing most hated, and contrary to the king's nature. Wherefore he began to look upon him with a jealous eye, especially after he had present-

ed him with a book, wherein, with great animosity, he opposed the peace with Spain then in treaty, persuading the king rather vigorously to prosecute the war with that prince then in hand; promising, and that with great probability, within few years to reduce the West Indies to his obedience. But Sir Walter Ralegh's enemies, soon discovering the king's humour, resolved at once to rid the king of this doubt and trouble, and to enrich themselves with the lands and offices of Sir Walter Ralegh. Wherefore they plotted to accuse him, and the Lord Cobham, a simple passionate man, but of a very noble birth and great possessions, of high-treason. The particulars of their accusation I am utterly ignorant of, and I think all men both then and now living; only I find in general terms, they were accused for plotting with the Spaniard, to bring in a foreign army and proclaim the Infanta of Spain Queen of England; but without any proofs, and the thing itself as ridiculous as impossible. However, Sir Walter Ralegh was condemned without any witness brought in against him, and the Lord Cobham, who was pretended to have accused him barely in a letter, in another letter to Sir Walter Ralegh, upon his salvation, cleared him of all treason or treasonable actions, either against king or state, to his knowledge; which original letter is now in the hands of Mr. Carew Ralegh, son of Sir Walter, to be produced at any time. Upon this condemnation, all his lands and offices were seized, and himself committed close prisoner to the Tower. But they found his castle of Sherborne and the lands thereunto belonging, to be long before entailed on his children; so that he could not forfeit it but during his own life. And the king, finding in himself the iniquity of Sir Walter's condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited again, but still kept him close prisoner. Seven years after his imprisonment, he enjoyed Sherborne; at which time it fell out, that one Mr. Robert Car, a young Scotch gentleman, grew in great favour with the king; and having no fortune, they contrived to lay the foundation of his future greatness upon the ruins of Sir Walter Ralegh. Whereupon they called the conveyance of Sherborne in question in the exchequer-chamber, and for want of one single word (which word was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of a clerk) they pronounced the conveyance invalid, and Sherborne forfeited to the crown; a judgment easily to be foreseen without witchcraft, since his chiefest judge was his greatest enemy, and the case argued between a poor friendless prisoner and a king of England.

Thus

Thus was Sherborne given to Sir Robert Car, after Earl of Somerset. The Lady Ralegh* with her children, humbly and earnestly petitioning the king for compassion on her and her's, could obtain no other answer from him, but that *he mun have the land, he mun have it for Car.* She being a woman of a very high spirit, and noble birth and breeding, fell down upon her knees, with her hands heaved up to Heaven, and in the bitterness of spirit beseeched God Almighty to look upon the justness of her cause, and punish those who had so wrongfully exposed her and her poor children, to ruin and beggary. What hath happened since to that royal family, is too sad and disastrous for me to repeat, and yet too visible not to be discerned.

But to proceed: Prince Henry, hearing the king had given Sherborne to Sir Robert Car, came with some anger to his father, desiring he would be pleased to bestow Sherborne upon him, alledging that it was a place of great strength and beauty, which he much liked, but indeed, with an intention to give it back to Sir Walter Ralegh, whom he much esteemed. The king, who was unwilling to refuse any of that prince's desires (for indeed, they were most commonly delivered in such language, as sounded rather like a demand than an intreaty) granted his request; and to satisfy his favourite, gave him twenty-five thousand pounds in money, so far was the king or crown from gaining by this purchase. But that excellent prince, within a few months, was taken away; how, and by what means, is suspected by all, and I fear was then too well known by many. After his death, the king gave Sherborne again to Sir Robert Car, who, not many years after, by the name of Earl of Somerset, was arraigned and condemned for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and lost all his lands. Then Sir John Digby, now Earl of Bristol, begged Sherborne of the king, and had it.

Sir Walter Ralegh, being of a vigorous constitution and perfect health, had now worn out sixteen years imprisonment, and had seen the disastrous end of all his greatest enemies. So that new persons and new interests now springing up in court, he found means to obtain his liberty; but upon condition to go a voyage to Guiana, in discovery of a gold mine. That unhappy voyage is well known almost to all men, and how he was betrayed from the very beginning, his letters and designs being discovered to Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, whereby he found such opposition upon the place, that though he took and fired the town of St. Thome, yet he lost

*She was the only daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who was arraigned in Queen Mary's time and acquitted. See Fox's Acts and Monuments.

his eldest son in that service; and being desperately sick himself, was made frustrate of all his hopes.

Immediately upon his return home, he was made prisoner, and by the violent pursuit of Gondomar and some others, who could not think their estates safe while his head was upon his shoulders, the king resolved to take advantage of his former condemnation sixteen years past, being not able to take away his life for any new action. And, though he had given him a commission under the broad-seal to execute martial law upon his own soldiers, which was conceived, by the best lawyers, a full pardon for any offence committed before that time, without any farther trouble of the law, cut off his head.

Here justice was indeed blind, blindly executing one and the same person upon one and the same condemnation, for things contradictory; for Sir Walter Ralegh was condemned for being a friend to the Spaniard, and lost his life for being their utter enemy. Thus kings, when they will do what they please, please not him they should, God; and, having made their power subservient to their will, deprive themselves of that just power whereby others are subservient to them.

To proceed: Mr. Carew Ralegh, only son of Sir Walter, being at this time a youth of about thirteen, bred at Oxford, after five years came to court; and, by the favour of the right honourable William Earl of Pembroke, his noble kinsman, hoped to obtain some redress in his misfortunes. But the king not liking his countenance, said, he appeared to him like the ghost of his father. Whereupon the earl advised him to travel, which he did till the death of King James, which happened about a year after. Then coming over, and a parliament sitting, he, according to the custom of this land, addressed himself to them by petition, to be restored in blood, thereby to enable him to inherit such lands, as might come unto him either as heir to his father, or any other way. But, his petition having been twice read in the Lords' House, King Charles sent Sir James Fullerton (then of the bed-chamber) unto Mr. Ralegh, to command him to come unto him; and, being brought into the king's chamber by the said Sir James, the king, after using him with great civility, notwithstanding told him plainly, that, when he was prince, he had promised the Earl of Bristol to secure his title to Sherborne, against the heirs of Sir Walter Ralegh; whereupon the earl had given him, then prince, ten thousand pounds; that now he was bound to make good his promise, being king; that therefore, unless he would quit all his right and title to Sherborne, he neither could nor would pass his bill of restoration. Mr. Ralegh,

urged

urged the justness of his cause; that he desired only the liberty of a subject, and to be left to the law, which was never denied any freeman. Notwithstanding all which allegations, the king was resolute in his denial, and so left him. After which, Sir James Fullerton used many arguments to persuade submission to the king's will; as, the impossibility of contesting with kingly power; the not being restored in blood, which brought along with it so many inconveniencies, that it was not possible without it to possess or enjoy any lands or estate in this kingdom; the not being in a condition, if his cloak were taken from his back, or hat from his head, to sue for restitution. All which things being considered, together with splendid promises of great preferment in court, and particular favours from the king, not improbable, wrought much in the mind of young Mr. Ralegh, being a person not full twenty years old, left friendless and fortuneless, and prevailed so far, that he submitted to the king's will.

Whereupon there was an act passed for his restoration, and, together with it, a settlement of Sherborne to the Earl of Bristol; and, in shew of some kind of recompence, four hundred pounds a-year pension, during his life, granted to Mr. Ralegh after the death of his mother, who had that sum paid unto her, during life, in lieu of jointure.

Thus have I, with as much brevity, humility, and candour as the nature of the case will permit, related the pressures, force, and injustice committed upon a poor oppressed, though not undeserving*, family; and have forborne to specify the names of those who were instruments of this evil, lest I should be thought to have an inclination to scandalize particular, and, perchance, noble families.

Upon the consideration of all which, I humbly submit myself to the Commons of England, now represented in parliament; desiring, according to their great wisdom and justice, that they will right me and my posterity, according to their own best liking; having, in my own person, (though bred at court,) never opposed any of their just rights and privileges, and, for the future, being resolved to range myself under the banner of

* Sir Walter Ralegh discovered Virginia at his own charge, which cost him forty thousand pounds. He was the first, of all the English, that discovered Guiana in the West-Indies. He took the islands of Fayall from the Spaniard, and did most signal and eminent service at the taking of Cadiz. He took from the Spaniard the greatest and richest carrac that ever came into England; another ship likewise laden with nothing but gold, pearls, and cochineal.

the

the commons of England; and, so far forth as education and fatherly instruction can prevail, promise the same for two sons whom God hath sent me."

No. XI.

De Concessione JOHANNI SHELBERY *&* ROBERTO SMYTH *de Bonis & Catallis quæ fuerunt* WALTERI RALEGH *Militis attincti.*

(From RYMER's Fœdera, XVI. 569.)

"JAMES, by the grace of God, *&c.* To the treasurer, chancellor, under-treasurer, and barons of our exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers of the same court, and to all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, to whom in that behalf it shall or may appertain, greeting:

Whereas Sir Walter Ralegh, late of Sherborne, in our county of Dorset, Knight, was, in Michaelmas term last past arraigned, convicted, and attainted of high treason, at our castle of Winchester, before our commissioners there in that behalf appointed, by means of which conviction and attainder of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, all and singular the goods and chattels, as well real as personal, moveable and immoveable whatsoever, and all and singular, debts, duties, and sums of money, actions, personal and personal advantages, benefits and demands, whatsoever, either by statute merchant, or statute staple, recognizances, judgment, obligation, bond, specialty, writing, contract, or otherwise, whereof he, the said Sir Walter Ralegh, or any other to his use, was possessed at the time of the committing of the said treason, or at any time sithence, or which in right did then or ought to appertain to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, are become forfeited and grown due unto us, and now remain at, and be at our princely disposition and pleasure.

Now know ye that,

As well for, and in consideration that all the debts and duties which the said Sir Walter Ralegh did truly and *bonâ fide* owe to any person or persons, by bond or otherwise, before the said attainder and conviction, may be justly and truly paid to such person and persons to whom they be so justly

justly and truly owing, as also for the help and maintenance of Dame Elizabeth Ralegh, now wife of the said Sir Walter, his child and family, and for divers other good causes and considerations, us hereunto especially moving,

We, of our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do fully, clearly, and absolutely give and grant, unto our loving subjects, John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, of London, gentlemen, all and singular the said goods and chattels, as well real as personal, moveable and unmoveable, whatsoever, and all and singular debts, duties, sums of money, actions personal, and personal advantages, benefits and demands, whatsoever, either by statute merchant, or statute staple, recognizance, judgment, obligation, bond, specialty, writing, contract, or otherwise, which late were the said Sir Walter Ralegh's, or whereof the said Sir Walter Ralegh, or any other to his use, at the time of the committing of the said treason, or any time since, was possessed, or which in right did then, or ought to appertain to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and which became due, forfeited, or owing, or is now, or hereafter shall become due, forfeited, or owing unto us, by reason of the said conviction or attainder, of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, by what name or names, or addition of name or names, place or places soever the said Sir Walter Ralegh was indicted, arraigned, convicted, attainted, or known, and which have not heretofore been paid or answered into our court of exchequer; together with all deeds, writings, bonds, and specialties, concerning only the same, or only any part or parcel thereof.

To have hold, seize, levy, recover, perceive, receive, take, use, occupy, possess and enjoy, all and singular, the premises before by these presents given and granted, or purposed, meant, or intended to be by us given and granted, and every part or parcel hereof, to the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, and assigns, to their only proper and sole use, uses, and behoofs, of our free gift, clearly, and absolutely, without any manner of accompt, reckoning, or recompence to be rendered, yielded, or made to us, our heirs, or successors, of, for, or by reason of the same, or of, for, or by reason of any part, or parcel thereof, and in as large, ample, and beneficial, sort, manner, and form, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, whatsoever, as we, our heirs, or successors, or any of us, do, can, or may at this present, or should, might, or ought to have,

hold

hold, occupy, enjoy, leave, receive, perceive, take, or recover the same, or any part, or parcel thereof, by reason or means of the said attainder and conviction of the said Sir Walter Ralegh: and yet upon this trust and confidence, and our express will, commandment, and pleasure is, that all and singular, the debts and duties which the said Sir Walter Ralegh did truly, and *bonâ fide*, owe to any person or persons, by bond or otherwise, before the said attainder and conviction, be justly and truly answered and paid to such person and persons to whom they be so justly and truly owing;

And farther know ye, that we, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant, to the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, and assigns, for the better executing of this our grant at all and every time and times hereafter, and for the better getting and obtaining into their hands, all and every such things as hereby are unto them given and granted, full power and authority to enquire and find, or cause to be found and enquired of, by any office or inquisition, or by any other lawful ways, means, or device whatsoever, such right and title as we now have or ought to have, in or to the premises before by these presents granted, or any part or parcel thereof; and also to take, seize, levy, and recover by them the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, or by any other their ministers, deputies, or assigns, in any place or places whatsoever, the said goods and chattels, real and personal, and other the premises, before by these presents given and granted, and every part thereof, according to the due order and course of our laws, and they the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, and assigns, and every of them, shall have full power and authority, by virtue of these presents, at their wills and pleasures, to release, acquit, and discharge all and every person and persons whatsoever, their executors, administrators, and assigns, of the said goods, chattels, and other the premises before by these presents, given and granted, as is aforesaid, or any of them;

And also, that they the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, and assigns, in the name of them the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth in their life-time, or in the names of their executors, administrators, or assigns, after their deaths, or otherwise, in our name, or in the names of any our heirs, or successors, shall and may sue for and recover the same goods and chattels, and other the premises,

by

by these presents granted, and every of them as is aforesaid, against any person or persons whatsoever, in any of our courts of record, at the will and pleasure of the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, or assigns, and every of them, and the same being recovered, levied, or received, to have, take, retain, and enjoy to their own use, uses, and behoofs; for which, these our letters patents shall be, as well unto the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators, and assigns, as also to our officers to whom it shall appertain, a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf.

And our will and pleasure is, and by these presents we do straightly charge and command, you our said treasurer, chancellor, and barons of our exchequer, and all other our officers and ministers of the same court, that if it happen, at any time or times hereafter, any of the said goods, chattels, and other the premises whatsoever, granted by these presents unto the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, as aforesaid, or any part thereof to be recovered, seized, or paid unto us, our heirs, or successors; at the suits, or in the names of our heirs or successors; that then, and so often, you deliver, or cause to be delivered, the said goods, chattels, and other the premises, before by these presents granted, and every part and parcel thereof, so obtained, recovered and seized, or paid, to the said John Shelbery and Robert Smith, their executors, administrators, or assigns, to their own use, uses, and behoofs, and these our letters patents, or the inrolment thereof shall be unto you our said treasurer, chancellor, and barons of our said exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers to whom it shall appertain, and to every of you and them, a full and sufficient warrant and discharge for the delivery, payment, and doing of all and singular the premises, according to the tenor, effect, and true meaning of this our grant.

And our farther will and pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do charge and command you, the said treasurer, chancellor, and barons of our said exchequer, and every of you, by virtue hereof, from time to time, to grant, and cause to be made forth of our said court of exchequer, such and so many commissions, and other lawful processes as shall be thought requisite by the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors or assigns, for the lawful finding out, revealing, discovering, trial, recovering, or seizing, of all and singular the said goods, chattels, and other the premises, before by these presents, granted as aforesaid, and every part thereof; and this our letters patents shall be unto

you, our said treasurer, chancellor, and barons of our exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers, a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf.

And to the intent that the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors administrators and assigns, may fully and wholly enjoy all and singular the premises before by these presents given and granted, and every part and parcel thereof, according to our good and gracious meaning in that behalf, our will and pleasure is, and we do by these presents grant, for us, our heirs, and successors, to the said John Shelbery and Robert Smyth, their executors, administrators and assigns, that these our letters patents or the inrolment of the same, and every part, point, article and clause therein contained, shall be firm, good, effectual, and available in the law against us, our heirs, and successors, as well in all the courts of us, our heirs, and successors, as elsewhere within our realm of England, the not finding of any office or inquisition concerning the premises, whereby our title thereto ought to be found before the making of these presents, or the not naming or not reciting of any person or persons, in whose hands, custody, or possession, the premises or any part thereof are remaining and being, or of the nature, kind, quantity, or quality of the premises, or any part thereof, or statute, act of parliament, law, ordinance, proclamation, provision, or restraint, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary, in anywise notwithstanding.

Although express mention, *&c.*
In witness whereof. *&c.*

Witness ourself at Westminster, the fourteenth day of February."

No. XII.

No. XII.

Confectio RALEGHANA.

℞ RASURÆ cornu cervi, — —	libram 1.
Carnis viperarum cum cordibus & hepatibus,	uncias VI.
Florum boraginis, buglossæ, roris-marini, calendulæ, vetonicæ, coronariæ rubræ, roris-solis, rosarum rubrarum, et sambuci,	singulorum libram $\frac{1}{2}$
Herbarum scordii, cardui benedicti, melissæ, dictamni cratici, menthæ, majoranæ, betonicæ,	singularum manipulos XII.
Granorum kermes recenter in rob redactorum, cubebarum, cardamomi majoris, baccarum juniperi, maceris, nucis myristicæ, caryophyllorum, croci, — — —	singulorum uncias II.
Cinnamomi acutissimi, corticis ligni sassafras, fiavedinis malorum citriorum & aurantiorum,	singulorum uncias III.
Lignorum aloes et sassafras, uniuscujusque,	uncias VI.
Radicum angelicæ, valerianæ, carlinæ, fraxinellæ seu dictamni albi, serpentariæ virginianæ, zedoariæ, termentillæ, bistortæ, aristolochiæ longæ, rotundæ et cavæ, gentianæ et imperatoriæ,	singulorum uncias $1\frac{1}{2}$.

Omnia incisa et grosso modo contusa, in vase idonco posita, cum spiritu vini rectificato extrahantur secundum artem. Tincturæ filtratæ in extractum mediante, in mariæ balneo, distillatione evaporentur. Magma expressum comburatur; cineres reverberati per aquam elixivientur, unde sal purum lege artis paretur, quod extracto misceatur. His ita peractis, huic extracto adde, ut artis est, pulverem sequentem cæteraque ingredientia.

℞. Lapidum bezoardicorum orientalium et occidentalium verorum, uniuscujusque,	unciam $\frac{1}{2}$
Magisterii solubilis perlarum orientalium,	uncias II.
Magisterii solubilis corelloram rubrorum,	uncias III.
Boli orientalis, terræ sigillatæ veræ, *unicornu mineralis,* cornu cervi philosophicè præparati et cornu cervi calcinati, —	singulorum uncias I.
Ambrægriseæ electissimæ in essentiam redactæ,	unciam. I.

Moschi orientalis optimi essentificati, — drachmam 1 ½.
Croci solis cum tinctura antimonii basilii valentini parati, — — — } drachmas 11.
Sacchari candisati albi subtilissime pulverisati, libras 11.

Ex his omnibus mixtis et ex arte unitis fiat confectio vere regia, quæ ad usum reservetur in pixidibus apprime clausis.

No. XIII.

A Letter from Sir Walter Raleigh, *to Prince* Henry, *touching the Model of a Ship.*

(See Dr. Birch's Works of Raleigh, II. 359.)

" Most excellent Prince,

" If the ship Your Highness intends to build, be bigger than the Victory, then her beams which are laid overthwart from side to side will not serve again, and many other of her timbers, and other stuff, will not serve; whereas if she be a size less, the timber of the old ship will serve well to the building of a new.

If she be bigger, she will be of less use, go very deep to water, and of mighty charge, our channels decaying every year, less nimble, less manageable, and seldom to be used. *Grande navio grande fatica*, saith the Spaniard.

A ship of six hundred tons will carry as good ordnance as a ship of twelve hundred tons, and where the greater hath double her ordnance, the less will turn her broadside twice before the great ship can wind once, and so no advantage in that overplus of guns. The lesser will go over clear, where the greater shall stick and perish; the lesser will come and go, leave or take, and is yare, whereas the greater is slow, unmanable, and ever full of encumber.

In a well conditioned ship, these things are chiefly required:

1. That she be strong built.
2. Swift in sail.
3. Stout-sided.

4. That

4. That her ports be so laid as that she may carry out her guns all weathers.
5. That she hull and try well.
6. That she stay well, when boarding, or turning on a wind is required.

To make her strong consisteth in the care and truth of the workman; to make her swift is to give her a large run or way forward, and so afterward, done by art and just proportion, and that in laying out her bows before, and quarters behind, the shipwright be sure that she neither sink nor hang into the water, but lie clear and above it, wherein shipwrights do often fail, and then is the speed in sailing utterly spoiled.

That she be stout-sided; the same is provided by a long bearing floor, and by sharing off from above water to the lower edge of the ports, which done, then will she carry out her ordnance all weathers.

To make her to hull and try well, which is called a good sea ship, there are two things principally to be regarded, the one that she have a good draught of water, the other that she be not overcharged; and this is seldom done in the king's ships, and therefore we are forced to lie, or try in them with our main course and mizen, which with a deep keel and standing streak she would perform.

The extreme length of a ship makes her unapt to stay, especially if she be floaty, and want sharpness of way forward. And it is most true, that such over-long ships, are fitter for the narrow seas in summer, than for the ocean, or long voyages; and therefore, an hundred foot by the keel, and thirty-five foot broad, is a good proportion for a great ship.

It is to be noted, that all ships sharp before, not having a long floor, will fall rough into the sea from a billow, and take in water over head and ears; and the same quality have all narrow-quartered ships to sink after the tail. The high charging of ships, is that that brings many ill qualities, it makes them extreme leeward, makes them sink deep into the seas, makes them labour sore in foul weather, and oftimes overset. Safety is more to be respected than shows, or niceness for ease; in sea-journeys both cannot well stand together, and therefore the most necessary is to be chosen.

Two decks and an half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low master s cabin. Our masters and mariners will say, that the ships will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary mariners served in them. But men of better sort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure

endure the rolling and tumbling from side to side, where the seas are never so little grown, which comes by high charging. Beside those high cabin works aloft, are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their splinters.

Above all other things, have care that the great guns be four foot clear above water when all lading is in, or else these best pieces are idle at sea. For if the ports lie lower, and be open, it is dangerous; and by that default was a goodly ship, and many gallant gentlemen lost, in the days of Henry VIII. before the Isle of Wight, in a ship called by the name of Mary-Rose."

No. XIV.

Orders to be observed by the Commanders of the Fleet and Land Companies, under the Charge and Conduct of Sir WALTER RALEGH, *Knight, bound for the South Parts of* AMERICA, *or elsewhere. Given at* PLYMOUTH, *in* DEVON, *May* 3, 1617.

(See News of Sir WALTER RALEGH, 4to, 1618, p. 19, & Birch's Works of Ralegh, I. xcvii.)

"FIRST, because no action nor enterprise can prosper (be it by sea or land) without the favour and assistance of Almighty God, the Lord and strength of hosts and armies, you shall not fail to cause divine service to be read in your ship morning and evening, in the morning before dinner, and at night before supper; or at least (if there be interruption by foul weather) once the day, praising God every night with singing of a psalm at the setting of the watch.

Secondly, you shall take especial care that God be not blasphemed in your ship, but that after admonition given, if the offenders do not refrain themselves, you shall cause them of the better sort to be fined out of their adventures, by which course, if no amendment be found, you shall acquaint me withal. For if it be threatened in the Scriptures, that *the curse shall not depart from the house of the swearer*, much less from the ship of the swearer.

Thirdly, no man shall refuse to obey his officer in all that he is commanded, for the benefit of the journey; no man (being in health) shall refuse to wait his turn as he shall be directed; the sailors by the master and boatswain, the landmen by their captain, lieutenant, and others.

You

You shall make in every ship two captains of the watch, who shall make choice of two soldiers every night to search between the decks, that no fire nor candle-light be carried about the ship after the watch set; nor that any candles be burning in any cabin without a lanthorn, and that neither, but while they are to make themselves unready. For there is no danger so inevitable as the ship's firing, which may as well happen by taking of tobacco between the decks, and therefore forbidden to all men but aloft the upper deck.

You shall cause the landmen to learn the names and places of the ropes, that they may assist the sailors in their labours upon the decks, though they cannot go up to the tops and yards.

You shall train and instruct your sailors (so many as shall be found fit) as you do your landmen, and register their names in the lists of your companies, making no difference of professions; but that all be esteemed sailors and all soldiers. For your troops will be very weak when you come to land, without the asisstance of your sea-faring men.

You shall not give chase, or send aboard any ship, but by order from the general. And if you come near any ship in your course, if she be belonging to prince or state in league or amity with His Majesty, you shall not take anything from them by force, upon pain of punishment as a pirate; although in manifest extremity or want, you may (agreeing for the price) relieve yourselves with things necesary, giving bond for the same, provided that it be not to the disfurnishing of any such ship, whereby the owner or merchants be endangered for the ship or goods.

You shall every night fall a-stern the general's ship, and follow his light, receiving instructions in the morning what course to hold; and if you shall at any time be separated by foul weather, you shall receive certain billets sealed up, the first to be opened on this side the North Cape, if there be cause; the second to be opened at the South Cape; the third, after you shall pass twenty-three degrees; and the fourth from the height of Cape de Verd.

If you discover any sail at sea, either to windward or to leeward of the admiral, or if any two or three of our fleet shall discover any such sail which the admiral cannot discern, if she be a great ship, and but one, you shall strike your main-top-sail, and hoist it again so often as you shall judge it to be an hundred tons of burthen; as if you judge her to be two hundred tons to strike and hoist twice, if three hundred, thrice, and so answerable to her greatness.

If

If you discern a small ship, you shall do the like with your fore-top-sail; but if you discover many great ships, you shall not only strike your main-top-sail often, but put out your ensign in the main-top; and if such ships or fleet go large before the wind, you shall also (after your signs given) go large, and stand as any of the fleet doth; I mean no longer than that you may judge the admiral and the rest have seen your signs and your so standing. And if you went large at the time of the discovery, you shall hale oft your sheets for a little time, and then go large again, that the rest may know that you go large, to shew us that the ships or fleet discovered keep that course; so you shall do if the ships or fleet discovered have their tacks aboard, namely, if you had also your tacks aboard at the time of the discovery, you shall bear up for a little time, and after hale your sheet oft again, to shew us what course the ship or fleet holds.

If you discover any ship or fleet by night, if the ship or fleet be to windward of you, and you to windward of the admiral, you shall presently bear up to give us knowledge; but if you think you might speak with her, then you shall keep your loof and shoot-off a piece of ordnance to give us knowledge thereby.

For a general rule, let no man presume to shoot-off any piece of ordnance but in discovering a ship or fleet by night, or by being in danger of the enemy, or in danger of fire, or in danger of sinking, it may be unto us all a most certain intelligence of some matter of importance, and you shall make us know the difference by this; for if you give chase, and being near a ship, you shoot to make her strike, we shall see and know you shoot to that end (if it be by day,) if by night, we shall then know that you have seen a ship or fleet more than our own, and if you suspect we do not hear the first piece, then you may shoot a second, but not otherwise, and you must take almost a quarter of an hour between your two pieces. If you be in danger by a leak, (I mean in present danger) you shall shoot two pieces presently one after another; and if in danger of fire, three pieces presently one after another.

In foul weather every man shall fit his sails to keep company with the rest of the fleet, and not run so far a-head by day, but that he may fall a-stern the admiral before night. In case we should be set upon by sea, the captain shall appoint sufficient company to assist the gunners, after which, if the fight require it, the cabins between the decks shall be taken down, and all beds and sacks employed for bulwarks; the musketteers of every

every ship shall be divided under captains, or other officers; some for the fore-castle, others for the waste, the rest for the poop, where they shall abide, if they be not otherwise directed. The gunners shall not shoot any great ordnance at other distance than point-blank. An officer or two shall be appointed to take care that no loose powder be carried between the decks, or near any linstock or match in hand. You shall saw divers hogsheads in two parts, and filled with water, set them aloft the decks. You shall divide your carpenters, some in the hold, if any shot come between wind and water, and the rest between the decks, with plates of lead, plugs, and all things necessary laid by them. You shall also lay by your tubs of water certain wet blankets to cast upon and choke any fire. The master and boatswain shall appoint a certain number of sailors to every sail, and to every such company a master's-mate, boatswain's-mate, or quarter-master, so as when every man knows his charge and place, things may be done without noise or confusion, and no man to speak but the officers: as for example, if the master or his mate bid heave out the main-top-sail, the master's-mate, boatswain's-mate, or quarter-master which hath charge of that sail, shall with his company perform it without calling out to others; and so for the fore-sail, fore-top-sail, sprit-sail and the rest; the boatswain himself taking no particular charge of any sail, but over-looking all, and seeing every one do his duty.

No man shall board a ship of the enemy without order, because the loss of a ship to us is of more importance than of ten to the enemy; as also by one man's boarding all our fleet may be engaged, it being a great dishonour to lose the least of our fleet. Every ship being under the lee of the enemy, shall labour to recover the wind, if the admiral endeavour it, and we find an enemy to leeward of us, the whole fleet shall follow the admiral, vice-admiral, or other leading ships within musket-shot of the enemy, giving so much liberty to the leading ships after her broadside discovered, as she may stay and trim her sails, then is the second ship to give her side, and the third and fourth, which done they shall all take as the first ship, and giving the enemy the other side, shall keep him under a perpetual volley. Thus must you do to the windermost ship of the enemy, which you shall batter in pieces, or force her to bear up and intangle the rest, falling foul one of another to their great confusion.

If the admiral give chace and be headmost man, the next ship shall take up his boat, if other order be not given; or if any other ship be appointed

to give chace, the next ship, if the chacing ship have a boat at her stern, sha l take her up. If any make a ship to strike, he shall not enter her till the admiral come up.

The musketteers divided into certain quarters of the ship, shall not deliver their shot but at such distances as their commander shall direct them. You shall take a special care for the keeping of the ship clean between the decks, to have your ordnance in order, and not cloyed with trunks and chests. Let those that have provision of victuals deliver it to the steward; and every man put his apparel in canvas cloakbags, except some few chests which do not pester the ship. Every one that useth any weapon of fire, be it musket or other piece, shall keep it clean, and if he be not able to amend it, being out of order, he shall presently acquaint his officer therewith, who shall command the armourer to amend it.

No man shall keep any feasting or drinking between meals, nor drink any healths on the ship's provision. Every captain, by his purser, steward, or other officer, shall take a weekly account how the victuals waste. The steward shall not deliver any candles to any private man, or to any private use.

Whosoever shall steal from his fellows either apparel or anything else, shall be punished as a thief; or if any one steal any victuals, either by breaking into the hold, or otherwise, he shall receive the punishment of a thief and the murderer of his fellows.

There is no man shall strike any officer, be he captain, lieutenant, ensign, serjeant, corporal of the field, a quarter-master, nor the master of any ship, master's mate, boatswain, or quarter-master; I say, no man shall offer any violence to any of these, but the supreme officer to the inferior, in time of service, upon pain of death. No private man shall strike one another, upon pain of receiving such punishment as a martial court shall think him worthy of.

No man shall play at cards or dice, either for his apparel or arms, upon pain of being disarmed, and made a swabber. And whoever shall shew himself a coward upon any landing or otherwise, he shall be disarmed, and made a labourer and carrier of victuals for the rest.

No man shall land any men in any foreign parts, without order from the general, the serjeant-major, or other chief officer, upon pain of death: and wheresoever we shall have cause to land, no man shall force any woman, be she Christian or Heathen, upon pain of death. And you shall take especial

cial care, when God shall suffer us to land in the Indies, not to eat any fruits unknown; such fruits as you do not find eaten by birds on the tree, or beasts under the tree, you shall avoid.

You shall not sleep on the ground, nor eat any new flesh till it be salted two or three hours, which otherwise will breed a most dangerous flux; so will the eating of over-fat hogs or turkies. You shall also have a great care that you swim not in any rivers but where you see the Indians swim, because most of the rivers are full of alligators. You shall not take any thing from any Indian by force, for from thenceforth we shall never be relieved; but you must use them with all courtesy. And for trading or exchanging with them, it must be done by one or two of every ship for all the rest, and the price to be directed by the cape-merchant, for otherwise all our commodities will be of small price, and greatly to our hindrance.

For other orders on the land, we will establish them (when God shall send us thither) by general consent. In the meantime I will value every man's honour according to their degree and valour, and taking care for the service of God, and prosperity of our enterprize.

When the admiral shall hang out a flag or ensign on the mizen shrouds, you shall know it to be a flag of counsel to come aboard."

No. XV.

Proclamatio, concernens WALTERUM RALEGH, *Militem, & Viagium suum ad* GUIANAM.

(From RYMER's Fœdera, Vol. XVII. p. 92.)

"WHEREAS we gave licence to Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, and others of our subjects with him, to undertake a voyage to the country of Guiana, where they pretended great hopes and probabilities to make discovery of certain gold mines for the lawful enriching of themselves and these our kingdoms, wherein we did, by express limitation and caution, restrain and forbid them, and every of them, from attempting any act of hostility, wrong, or violence, whatsoever, upon any of the territories, states, or subjects of any foreign princes with whom we are in amity, and more peculiarly of

those of our dear brother the King of Spain, in respect of his dominions and interests in that continent, all which notwithstanding, we are since informed by a common fame, that they or some of them, have by an hostile invasion of the town of St. Thome, being under the obedience of our said dear brother the King of Spain, and by killing of divers of the inhabitants thereof, his subjects, and after by sacking and burning of the said town, as much as in them for their own parts lay, maliciously broken and infringed the peace and amity which hath been so happily established and so long inviolably continued between us and the subjects of both our crowns; we have therefore held it fit, as appertaining nearly to our royal justice and honour, eftsoons to make a public declaration of our own utter mislike and detestation of the said insolences and excesses (if any such have been by any of our subjects committed;) and, for the better detection and clearing of the very truth of the said common fame, we do hereby straightly charge and require all our subjects whatsoever, that have any particular understanding and notice thereof, upon their duty and allegiance which they owe us, immediately after publication of this our pleasure, to repair unto some of our privy-council, and to discover and make known unto them their whole knowledge and understanding concerning the same, under pain of our high displeasure and indignation, that we may thereupon proceed in our princely justice, to the exemplary punishment and cohersion of all such as be convicted and found guilty of so scandalous and enormous outrages.

Witness ourself at Westminster the eleventh day of June.

Per ipsum Regem."

No. XVI

De Warranto Speciali pro Decollatione WALTERI RALEGH, *Militis*, *A. D.* 1618.

(From RYMER's Fœdera, Vol. XVII. p. 115.)

"JAMES, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Francis Lord Verulam, our chancellor of England, greeting;

Whereas Sir Walter Ralegh, knight, late of the parish of St. Martin in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, with others, hath been indicted of divers high treasons by him committed against us, and thereupon hath been tried and found guilty of the same, before our dear cousin and counsellor,

Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, then chamberlain of our household,
Gilbert, late Earl of Shrewsbury,
Charles, late Earl of Devon,
Henry Lord Howard,
Robert Lord Cecil, of Essingdon, then our principal secretary,
Edward Lord Wotton, then our comptroller of our household;

And other our justices of oyer and terminer, at our city of Winchester, in our county of Southampton, concerning treasons and other offences lately assigned; which said Sir Walter Ralegh was, for the same his treasons, by them adjudged to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, according to the laws and customs of this our realm of England in that case provided; which said commission, with the said judgment, indictment, and the trial and proceedings thereupon, were returned and do remain in our said court of pleas, before us to be holden: and although the said Sir Walter Ralegh be adjudged to die as aforesaid; yet We, minding to dispense with that manner of execution of judgment, do, therefore, by these presents, pardon, remit, and release the said Sir Walter Ralegh of and from such execution of his judgment to be drawn, hanged, and quartered as abovesaid, and instead thereof, our pleasure is, to have the head only of the said Sir Walter Ralegh cut-off, at or within our palace of Westminster, in or upon some fit and convenient place or scaffold to be provided in that behalf,

and

and that in such sort and order as in such cases have been herctofore done; the said judgment to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, or any law, or other thing or matter whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. Willing, charging, and hereby expressly commanding you our said chancellor, that upon receipt hereof you do forthwith direct, under our great seal of England, two several writs, one to the lieutenant of our Tower of London, or his deputy there, for the delivery of the said Sir Walter Ralegh to the sheriff of Middlesex, at or within our said palace of Westminster aforesaid, and another writ to the said sheriff of Middlesex, for the receiving the said Sir Walter Ralegh of and from the hands of our said lieutenant or his deputy, and for the executing of him there, at some fit and convenient place to be there by our said sheriff erected and provided for that purpose, in such manner and form as in such cases hath heretofore been done; and these presents shall be your warrant and discharge for the same, against us, our heirs, and successors for ever.

Witness Ourself at Westminster, the 28th day of October.

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo."

No. XVII.

Mr. THOMAS LORKIN *to Sir* THOMAS PUCKERING, *Bart.*

(See the HARLEIAN Collection).

" SIR,

LONDON, Nov. 3, 1618.

" MY last letters intimated a warrant that was form for Sir Walter Ralegh's dispatch. These will relate to you his end.

Upon Wednesday, therefore, he was brought to Westminster, to recieve sentence anew from the lord chief-justice, to comply with certain formalities, as I hear, in law, for that those who pronounced it were dead. Being presented at the bar, he demanded for what offence he was proceeded against. Answer was made it was His Majesty's pleasure to take

his

his life for the first, and that the cause of his coming again to the bar now, was to declare the former condemnation to stand still in force. He offered to speak somewhat for himself, but it was not permitted. The attorney told him that he had lived like a star, and like a star must fall when it troubled the firmament. There he was delivered into the sheriff's charge, and by him carried from thence to the gate-house, and the day following, (which was by all good tokens the lord-mayor's day) in the Old Palace-yard executed. His warning was short, for he had no word to prepare himself for death till that very morning he was convened before the judge. He sued for four or five days longer, under pretence of having somewhat to communicate with His Majesty by writing for his behoof and service, which in so short a time could not be performed; and something I hear he hath written to the king to that purpose. Yet it was conceived as a device to gain time, that his friends might the more effectually intercede for his pardon; so as that suit would not be granted. Thereupon he prepared himself for death. The Dean of Westminster visited him, and after some conference between them two, he at his hands received the sacrament, and the night before his execution made his own *epiccdium*, or funeral song, which I have here sent you.

He had the favour to die a gentleman's death, and to be beheaded. His end was, by the general report of all that were present, very christian like, and so full of resolution as moved all men to pity and wonder. In going from the prison to the scaffold, among others that thronged about to see him, one old man that was bald pressed very forward, insomuch as Sir Walter Ralegh took notice of him, and asked him whether he would have aught of him? To whom the old man answered, "Nothing but to see him, and to pray God to have mercy upon his soul." "*I thank thee, good friend,* replied Sir Walter, *and I am sorry I have no better thing to return thee for thy good will; but take this night-cap,* (which was a very rich one that he wore, for he had had two fits of a fever,) *for thou hast more need of it now than I.*

Being come to the scaffold, he saw the lords seated in a place that was provided for them, somewhat far off, and fearing lest his voice should not well reach them, desired them that they would approach, because what he had then to say he wished the whole world should take notice of; and so they did, and heard a most grave, Christian, and elegant discourse, as they commonly qualify it. In it he laboured to clear himself from three

main

main aspersions: the first, of atheism, which he did, by a worthy profession of his faith, and profession of his hope to be saved thereby. The second was concerning My Lord of Essex's death, whom he was reported to have insulted upon at his death, taking tobacco in a bravery before his face, and to have procured and practised his ruin. Against both which he solemnly protested, adding farther, that he acknowledged indeed himself to be of a contrary faction, because My Lord of Essex had refused him, whom he first sought; but that he was so far from triumphing at his death, as he never was more affected with grief for any man's, and expressed the same with tears, to his prejudice in the opinion and friendship, as it proved afterward, in the adverse party. The third was concerning these last occasions, wherein he stood charged with a dislegal intention in the voyage he undertook, and with four other accusations since his return. The former seemed grounded upon a report that went, of great sums of money which he secretly transported with him, to the value of ten thousand pounds, and the extraordinary provision of artillery he carried with him; both which he satisfied by shewing the falsehood of the first, (all his store not exceeding the sum of one hundred and fifty pieces, whereof he sent back part to his wife), and the necessity of the second, in regard of the Spaniard, upon whose friendship he had no reason to presume. Touching the other accusations, they all respected Sir Lewis Stukely as their author, whom he professed, by the way, to forgive with all his heart, but yet thought fit to *desenchanter* the world, both the better to justify himself, and to teach every man how to trust him. And whereas he first accused him to have practised with the French agent about his escape, he protested that he never saw him but once, in the gallery at Whitehall, before he undertook his voyage; neither ever had aught to do with him since. Secondly, whereas Stukely charged him to have offered him ten thousand pounds if he would consent unto his escape, he likewise therein proclaimed him false, sith his largest promises in that kind never exceeded the payment of Stukely's debts, which he confessed to have undertaken for him. Thirdly, whereas the said Stukely accused him to have laid to Sir Edward Parry's charge, where he was entertained in coming-up to London, the poisoning of him, he took his death upon it, that it was most calumnious. He used, indeed, art to counterfeit a poisoning upon himself, which he thought was warranted by David's example, who feigned himself in a case of like danger mad; but that he ever

fathered

fathered it upon him, who had ever been his noble and worthy friend, he utterly disavowed it, under a solemn execration. Lastly, whereas his accuser testified against him that he had for his encouragement to give way to his escape, assured him that My Lord of Doncaster and Lord Carew were privy to the design, and favourers of it, he assured the contrary, under a deep oath; adding, that he knew well how fearful and dangerous a thing it was to call God as a witness to a lie at any time, much more at the hour of a man's death; but he had herein satisfied the obligation of a good conscience.

This done, he embraced all the Lords and other of his friends there present, with such courtly compliments of discourse as if he had met them at some feast. They then cleared the scaffold, which being done, he takes up the axe, and feels the edge, and finding it sharp for the purpose, *this is that*, saith he, *that will cure all sorrows*, and so kissing it, laid it down again. After that he went to three several corners of the scaffold, and kneeling down, desired all the people to pray for him, and conceived a long prayer to himself. Then he began to fit himself for the block, without permitting any help; and first laid himself down to try how the block fitted him. After rising up, the executioner kneeled down, and desired him to forgive him, which, with an embrace, he professed he did; but intreated him not to strike till he gave a token, by lifting up his hand; *and then fear not*, said he, *but strike home*. So he laid himself down to receive the stroke, and the hangman directed him to lay his face toward the east. *No matter how the head lie*, answered he, *so the heart be right*. After he had lain a little while upon the block, conceiving some prayers to himself, he gave the watchword, and the executioner, it seems, not minding it, he called aloud unto him, asking him why he did not strike. *Strike, man*, said he; and so, in two blows, was delivered from his pain.

In all the time he was upon the scaffold, nor before, there appeared not the least alteration in him, either in his voice or countenance; but he seemed as free from all manner of apprehension, as if he had been come thither rather to be a spectator than a sufferer; nay, the beholders seemed much more sensible than did he. So that he hath purchased here in the opinion of men such honour and reputation, as it is thought his greatest enemies are they that are most sorrowful for his death, which they see is like to turn so much to his advantage. Stukely notwithstanding,

standing hath been at court since, offering to His Majesty, by way of his own justification, to take the sacrament upon it, that what he laid to Sir Walter Ralegh's charge was true; and to produce two other witnesses, free from all exception, that would do the like. *Why, then,* replied His Majesty, *the more malicious he to utter those speeches at his death.* But Sir Thomas Badger, who stood by and heard it, *let the King,* said he, *take off Stukeley's head, as he hath done the others, and let him at his death take the sacrament and his oath upon it, and I'll believe him; but otherwise I shall credit Sir Walter Ralegh's bare affirmative before a thousand of his oaths.* And it is strange to see how every man in court declines that Stukeley's company as treacherous."

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No. XVIII.

A Declaration of the Demeanour and Carriage of Sir WALTER RALEGH, *Knight, as well in his Voyage, as in and sithence his Return; and of the true Motives and Inducements which occasioned His Majesty to proceed in doing Justice upon him, as hath been done.*

(London, Printed by BONHAM NORTON, and JOHN BILL, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, M.DC.XVIII.

"ALTHOUGH kings be not bound to give account of their actions to any but God alone, yet such are His Majesty's proceedings, as he hath always been willing to bring them before sun and moon, and careful to satisfy all his good people with his intentions and courses, giving, as well to future times as to the present, true and undisguised declarations of them; as judging, that for actions not well founded, it is advantage to let them pass in uncertain reports; but for actions that are built upon sure and solid grounds, (such as His Majesty's are) it belongeth to them, to be published by open manifests: especially as His Majesty is willing to declare and manifest to the world, his proceedings in a case of such a nature as this which followeth is, since it not only concerns his own people, but also a foreign prince and state abroad.

Accordingly

Accordingly, therefore, for that which concerneth Sir Walter Ralegh, late executed for treason, (leaving the thoughts of his heart, and the protestations that he made at his death to God that is the searcher of all hearts, and judge of all truth) His Majesty hath thought fit to manifest unto the world, how things appeared unto himself, and upon what proofs and evident matter, and the examination of the commanders that were employed with him, in the voyage, (and namely of those which Sir Walter Ralegh himself, by his own letter to Secretary Winwood, had commended for persons of special worth and credit, and as most fit for greater employments) His Majesty's proceedings have been grounded; whereby it will evidently appear how agreeable they have been in all points to honour and justice.

Sir Walter Raleigh having been condemned of high treason, at His Majesty's entrance into this kingdom, and by the space of fourteen years, by His Majesty's princely clemency and mercy, not only spared from his execution, but permitted to live, as in *liberâ custodiâ* in the Tower, and to enjoy his lands and living, till all was by law evicted from him upon another ground, and not by forfeiture; (which notwithstanding, His Majesty, out of his abundant grace, gave him a competent satisfaction for the same) at length he fell upon an enterprise of a golden mine in Guiana.

This proposition of his was presented and recommended to His Majesty by Sir Ralph Winwood, then secretary of state, as a matter not in the air, or speculative, but real, and of certainty; for that Sir Walter Ralegh had seen of the ore of the mine with his eyes, and tried the richness of it. It is true, that His Majesty, in his own princely judgment, gave no belief unto it; as well for that His Majesty was verily persuaded, that in nature there are no such mines of gold entire, as they described this to be; and if any such had been, it was not probable that the Spaniards, who were so industrious in the chase of treasure, would have neglected it so long; as also for that it proceeded from the person of Sir Walter Ralegh, invested with such circumstances both of his disposition and fortune. But, nevertheless, Sir Walter Ralegh had so enchanted the world with his confident asseveration of that which every man was willing to believe, as His Majesty's honour was in a manner engaged not to deny unto his people the adventure and hope of so great riches, to be sought and atchieved at the charge of voluntaries; especially, for that it stood with His Majesty's politic and magnanimous courses, in these his flourishing times of peace, to

nourish and encourage noble and generous enterprises, for plantations, discoveries, and opening of new trades.

Hereupon the late Spanish ambassador, the Count De Gondomar, took great alarm, and represented unto His Majesty, by loud and vehement assertions, upon iterated audiences, that he knew and had discovered the intention and enterprise of Sir Walter Ralegh to be but hostile and piratical, and tending to the breach of the peace between the two crowns, and danger and destruction of the King his master's subjects in those parts, protesting in a sort against the same. To which His Majesty's answer always was, that he would send Sir Walter Ralegh with a limited commission, and that he durst not, upon peril of his head, attempt any such matter; and if he did, he would surely do justice upon him, or send him bound hand and foot into Spain, and all the gold and goods he should obtain by robbery, and bring home, were they never so great. And for farther caution, His Majesty enjoined Secretary Winwood to urge Sir Walter Ralegh, upon his conscience, and allegiance to His Majesty, to deal plainly, and express himself, whether he had any other intention, but only to go to those golden mines in Guiana, which he not only solemnly protested unto the said Sir Ralph Winwood, but by him writ a close letter to His Majesty, containing a solemn profession thereof, confirmed with many vehement asseverations, and that he never meant or would commit any outrages or spoils upon the King of Spain's subjects. But notwithstanding His Majesty acquainted the Spanish ambassador with this his protestation, yet the said ambassador would never recede from his former jealousy, and importuning His Majesty to stay his voyage, alledging that the great number of ships that Sir Walter Ralegh had prepared for that voyage, shewed manifestly that he had no such peaceable intent; and offering (upon Sir Walter Raleigh's answer thereunto, that those ships were only provided for his safe convoy) that if Sir Walter Ralegh would go with one or two ships only, to seek the said mine, that he would move the King of Spain to send two or three ships with him back again for his save convoy hither with all his gold; and the said ambassador's person to remain here in pledge for the king his master's performance thereof. But such were the constant fair offers of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and specious promises, as His Majesty in the end rejected the importunate suit of the said Spanish ambassador for his stay, and resolved to let him go; but therewithal took order, both that he, and all those that went in his company, should find good security to behave themselves

themselves peaceably toward all His Majesty's friends and allies; and to observe strictly all the articles of the commission, which His Majesty for that cause, had the greater care to have it well and clearly penned, and set down. And that His Majesty's honest intention may herein the better appear; the words of the commission are herein inserted as follows.

JAMES, by the grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, to be read, heard, or seen, and to every of them greeting. Whereas Sir Walter Ralegh, knight, intendeth to undertake a voyage by sea and shipping, unto the south parts of America, or elsewhere within America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people, to the end to discover and find out some commodities and merchandises in those countries, that be necessary and profitable for the subjects of these our kingdoms and dominions, whereof the inhabitants there make little or no use or estimation; whereupon also may ensue by trade and commerce, some propagation of the Christian faith, and reformed religion, among those savage and idolatrous people. And whereas, we are credibly informed, that there are divers merchants and owners of ships, and others, well-disposed to assist the said Sir Walter in this his enterprise, had they sufficient assurance to enjoy their due parts of the profits returned (in respect of the peril of law wherein the said said Sir Walter Ralegh now standeth:) and whereas also we are informed, that divers other gentlemen, the kinsmen and friends of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and divers captains and other commanders are also desirous to follow him, and to adventure their lives with him, in this his journey, so as they might be commanded by no other than himself.

Know ye, that we, upon deliberate consideration had of the premises, being desirous by all ways and means to work and procure the benefit and good of our loving subjects, and to give our princely fartherance to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his friends and associates herein, to the encouragement of others in the like laudable journeys and enterprises, to be hereafter prosecuted and pursued; and especially in advancement and fartherance, as well of the conversion of savage people, as of the increase of the trade, traffic, and merchandises used by our subjects of this our kingdom, being most famous throughout all nations: of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successors, do give and grant unto the said Sir Walter

Ralegh

Ralegh, full power and authority, and free licence and liberty out of this our realm of England or any other our dominions, to have, carry, take, and lead, for and toward his said intended voyage into the said south parts, or other parts of America (possessed and inhabited, as aforesaid) and to travel thither, all such and so many of our loving subjects, or any other strangers that will become our loving subjects, and live under our obeisance and allegiance as shall willingly accompany him, with sufficient shipping, armour, weapons, ordnance, munition, powder, shot, habiliments, victuals, and such wares and merchandizes, as are esteemed by the wild people in those parts, clothing, implements, furniture, cattle, horses, and mares, and all other such things as he shall think most necessary for his voyage, and for the use and defence of him and his company, and trade with the people there; and in passing and returning to and fro, and in those parts to give away, sell, barter, exchange, or otherwise dispose of the same goods, merchandizes, and premises to the most benefit, and at the will and pleasure of the said Sir Walter Ralegh and his company, and such other person or persons, as shall be adventurers or assistants with, or unto him in this his intended voyage, and from thence to return, import, convey, and bring into this our kingdom, or any other our dominions, such gold, silver, bullion, or any other wares, or merchandizes, or commodities whatsoever, as they shall think most fit and convenient; and the same being so returned, imported, conveyed, and brought into this our kingdom, or any other our dominions, to have, take, keep, retain, and convert to the only proper use, benefit, and behoof of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and his said company, and other persons adventurers and assistants with or to him in this voyage, without the let, interruption, molestation, and disturbance of us, our heirs or successors, or any the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors whatsoever, paying and answering unto us, our heirs, and successors, the full fifth part in five parts to be divided, of all such gold, and silver, and bullion, and ore of gold or silver, and pearl, and precious stone, as shall be so imported over and beside, and together with such customs, subsidies, and other duties, as shall be due for or in respect of any other goods, wares, or merchandizes whatsoever, to be imported by the true meaning of these presents. And to the end the said Sir Walter Ralegh may be the more encouraged to go forward in this his enterprise, and all our loving subjects desirous to be adventurers with him or assistant unto him, may be the more incited to farther his proceedings; we do hereby in *verbo regio*, for us, our heirs and successors, covenant, promise,

mise, and grant, to and with the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and all other persons that shall accompany him, or to be attendant upon him, or to be adventurers or assistants with or to him in this his voyage, that no gold, silver, goods, wares, or merchandizes whatsoever of what kind or sort soever, by him or them or any of them, to be imported into this our kingdom of England, or any other our dominions from any the said south or other parts of America, (possessed or inhabited as aforesaid) shall be attached, seized, or taken by us, our heirs or successors, or to the use of us, our heirs or successors, or by any the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors whatsoever; but that the same and every of them (the fifth part of the said gold, silver, or bullion, and ore of gold and silver and pearl, and precious stone, and other the customs and duties aforesaid, being truly answered and paid) shall be, and remain to the sole and proper use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and his said company, and such persons as shall be adventurers with him, or assistant to him in this his voyage; any law, statute, act of parliament, proclamation, provision, or restraint, or any right, title or claim of us, our heirs or successors, or any other matter or thing whatsoever to the contrary, in anywise notwithstanding. And farther, of our more especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordain, constitute, and appoint the said Sir Walter Ralegh to be the sole governor and commander of all persons that shall travel, or be with him in the said voyage, to the said south, or other parts of America, (so possessed and inhabited as aforesaid) or in returning from thence. And we do hereby give unto him, full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule them or any of them, according to such orders, ordinances, constitutions, directions, and instructions, as by the said Sir Walter Ralegh shall be from time to time established, as well in cases capital and criminal, as civil, both marine and other; so always as the said statutes, ordinances, and proceedings (as near as conveniently may be) be agreeable to the laws, statutes, government, and policy of this our realm of England, and not against the true Christian faith now professed in the church of England. And because that in such and the like enterprises and voyages, great inconveniences have grown by the mutinous and disorderly carriage of the mariners and sailors employed in the same, for want of sufficient authority to punish them according to their offences: we do therefore by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, give full power and authority to the said Sir Walter Ralegh in case of rebellion, or

mutiny

mutiny by sea or land, to use and exercise martial law (upon just ground and apparent necessity) in as large and ample manner as our lieutenant-general by sea or land, or our lieutenants in our counties, within our realm of England, have, had, or ought to have, by force of their commission of lieutenancy. And we do farther by these presents, give full power and authority to the said Sir Walter Ralegh, to collect, nominate, and appoint such captains and other inferior commanders and ministers under him, as shall be requisite for the better ordering and governing of his company, and the good of the voyage. And farther, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, straightly charge and command the warden of our Cinque-ports, and all the customers, comptrollers, surveyors, searchers, waiters, and other officers and ministers of us, our heirs, and successors for the time being, that they, and every of them do quietly permit and suffer the said Sir Walter Ralegh, and all person and persons that shall be willing to travel and adventure with him in this voyage with their ships, munition, goods, wares, and merchandises whatsoever, out of this our realm, or any other our dominions, to pass into the said south or other parts of America, (possessed and inhabited as aforesaid) and from thence to return and import into this our realm, or any other our dominions, any goods, wares, or merchandises, whatsoever, and there to sell or otherwise to dispose of the same, to the best benefit and advantage, and to the only use and behoof of the said Sir Walter Ralegh and his company, and such other persons as shall be adventurers with him in this voyage, paying the fifth part of all gold and silver, bullion, and ore of gold and silver, and of pearl and precious stone imported, and other the customs and duties aforesaid. And these presents, or the inrolment thereof, shall be unto the said warden of the Cinque-ports, customers, comptrollers, and other the officers and ministers aforesaid, for the time being a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. And our will and pleasure is; and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said Sir Walter Ralegh, that these our letters patents, or the inrolment thereof, and all and singular grants, clauses, and things therein contained, shall be firm, strong, sufficient and effectual in law, according to our gracious pleasure and meaning herein expressed; any law, statute, act, provision, ordinance, or restraint, or any other matter or thing to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding. Although express mention, &c. In witness whereof, &c. Witness ourself at Westminster,

minster the six-and-twentieth day of August, in the fourteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the fiftieth.

Per breve de privato Sigillo.

This commission so drawn and framed (as you see) His Majesty himself did oft peruse and revise, as foreseeing the future events; the tenor whereof appeareth to be so far from giving Sir Walter Ralegh warrant, or colour to invade any of the territories, occupate and possessed by the Spaniards, as it tended to a direction, rather of commerce than spoil, even toward the savages themselves. And the better to contain Sir Walter Ralegh, and to hold him upon his good behaviour, His Majesty denied (though much sued unto for the same,) to grant him pardon for his former treasons, both to disauthorise him with those, that were under his command, (in case he should attempt to exceed his commission) and to reserve him to the justice of the law, if by new offences he should make himself indign of former mercies. And as for the good security which His Majesty ordered to be taken, for their good and peaceable behaviour in the voyage; His Majesty never heard anything to the contrary but that it was performed, till they were upon their parting; and then was it told him, that every one of the principals that were in the voyage, had put in security one for another, which if His Majesty had known in time, he would never have accepted of.

But howsoever the commission was penned, and whatsoever the cautions were which His Majesty intended or used, and whatsoever the protestations and promises were, that Sir Walter Ralegh made or exhibited, it appeareth plainly, by the whole sequel of his actions, that he went his own way, and had his own ends: first, to procure his liberty, and then to make new fortunes for himself, casting abroad only this tale of the mine as a lure to get adventurers and followers; having in his eye the Mexico-fleet, the sacking and spoil of towns planted with Spaniards, the depredation of ships, and such other purchase; and making account that if he returned rich, he would ransom his offences (little looking into the nature and character of His Majesty's justice and government) and if otherwise he would seek his fortune by flight, and new enterprises in some foreign country.

In execution therefore of these his designs, Sir Walter Ralegh carrying the reputation of an active, witty, and valiant gentleman, and especially of

a great commander at sea, by the inticement of this golden bait of the mine, and the estimation of his own name, drew unto him many brave captains, and other knights and gentlemen of great blood and worth, to hazard and adventure their lives, and the whole or a great part of their estates and fortunes in this his voyage: whose ruins and decays following, remain as sad and grievous relics and monuments of his unfortunate journey, and unfaithful proceedings.

But before he went from London, he was not so reserved, nor so constant unto his pretence of the mine, but that some sparks brake forth of that light, which afterward appeared. For he cast forth some words to some particular friends of his company, that he knew a town in those parts, upon which he could make a saving voyage in tobacco, though there were no other spoil. Nevertheless, to make the better faith of that he had given out touching the mine, he promised his company at London, that when he came to Plymouth, he would take a great company of pioneers out of the west, (where best workmen are of that kind) and he maintained this his pretence so far, as he billeted the said pioneers for several ships; but when he came into the West this vanished. For it is testified of all parts, and by himself confessed, that he carried none at all, excusing it, that there were many other tall men of the mariners, and common soldiers, that he would have made fall to work; which is a slender excuse of omitting so principal a point. As for pickaxes, mattocks, and shovels, for the working of the mine, it is true he carried some small quantity for a shew, but by the judgment of all that were in his company, nothing near sufficient for that which had been requisite for the working of the mine, which he excused only by saying, that his men never saw them unpacked, and that the mine was not past a foot and a half under ground.

After, when he was once at sea, he did not much labour to nourish and maintain the belief, that he meant to make his voyage upon the profit of the mine, but fell a degree, as if it were sufficient to bring home certainty and visible proof, that such a mine there was, though he brought not the riches of it. For soon after his setting forth from Ireland, he professed, that if he brought home but a handful or basketful of ore to shew the king, he cared for no more, for it was enough to save his credit; and being charged therewith, he confessed the speech, with this argument and inference, that if there had been a handful of the mine, it followed there was a mine to be confessed; as if so many ships, so many lives of men, such

charge

charge of provisions, and such an honourable commission, had been but for an experiment.

About the same time likewise, he began to forget his commission, as well as his pretences of the mine; for he did declare himself to divers of his company, that he meant to take St. Thome, and that he would make his voyage good upon that town, for that it was very rich; so as where it was blown abroad, that the assault of St. Thome was inforced by a kind of necessity, for that our troops were first assailed, it appeareth manifestly, both by his speech at London, of a town indefinitely, and by this his speech early in his voyage at sea of St. Thome by name, that it was an original design of his from the beginning: and yet it is confessed by all, that the parts of Guiana, where St. Thome was situate, were planted by Spaniards, who had divers towns in the same tract, with some Indians intermixed, that are their vassals, so as it is plain, both place and persons were out of his commission.

And that this was well known to him it appears notably in a letter of his own hand, written since his return from his voyage, wherein he complains that the Spaniards of the same place did murder divers of his men, which came in peace to trade with them, some seven years past; neither doth he in that letter, anyway decline his knowledge, that those parts were inhabited by the Spaniards, but stands upon a former title, which he would needs now have strengthened by a new possession; notwithstanding that this his pretence is no way compatible with his commission, and that himself before his going never made overture, or allegation of any such pretext, nor so much as intimated, or insinuated any such design or purpose.

Again, before he came to the islands, he made no difficulty to tell many in express terms, that he meant to surprise and set upon the Mexico-fleet, though sometimes he would qualify it by saying, *if all failed, or if the action of the mine were defeated.*

And Sir Walter Ralegh himself being charged with these speeches, confessed the words, but saith, that in time, they were spoken after the action of the mine was defeated; and that it was propounded by him, to the end to keep his men together, and if he spake it before, it was but discourse at large.

After, when he began to be upon the approaches of his pretended design of the mine, and was come to Trinidad, he fell sick in some extremity, and in doubt of life (as was thought) at what time he was moved by some prin-

cipal persons about him, upon two points, in case he should decease: the one, that he would nominate a general to succeed him; the other, that he would give some direction for prosecution of the action of the mine. To the first he made answer, that his commission could not be set over, and therefore left them to agree of that among themselves: but for the mine, he professed he could give them no direction; and stayed not there, but told them, there was another course (which he did particularize unto them to be a French commission) whereby they might do themselves most good upon the Spaniards.

When he was upon recovery, he dispatched the land-forces pretended for the mine, and had designed captain Saintleger to command in that expedition: but by reason of Saintleger's infirmity at that time, he resorted to his kinsman captain George Ralegh, who was his serjeant-major; in whose written commission which he gave him, he was wary enough not to express the taking of St. Thome, but only inserted a clause of commandment; *that they should in all things obey him, as they would do to himself in person:* yet in private directions and instructions, he did open himself to divers of his company, that in case they should not receive some advertisement, that the town was reinforced by new supplies of men (whereby the enterprise might be of too great hazard for their number) they should take the town first, telling them, that the mine was but three miles distant short of the town, and inferring (as Keymis expounded it afterward) that it was in vain to meddle with the mine, except the town were first taken, and the Spaniards chased; for that otherwise, they should but discover it, and work it for the Spaniards; and when he had opened himself thus far, some of his company, of the more intelligent and dutiful sort, did in plain terms turn it upon him, setting before him, that the taking of the town, would break the peace, and that they should go against the commission: whereupon, most falsely and scandalously, he doubted not with confidence to affirm, that he had order by word of mouth from the king and his council, to take the town, if it were any hindrance to the digging of the mine.

But the event did sufficiently expound and manifest the direction; and yet that kind of interpretation little needed, for that young Mr. Ralegh, (who was likest to know his father's secret) when he led his soldiers upon the town, used these or the like words, *come on my hearts, here is the mine that ye must expect, they that look for any other mine, are fools;* and with this did well concur that which followed, in the prosecution of the mine after the town was taken; for this mine was not only imaginary, but moveable,

moveable, for that which was directed to be three miles short of St. Thome, was after sought thirty miles beyond St. Thome.

All this while Sir Walter Ralegh stayed at Pont de Gallo, by the space of some nine weeks, during which time it was much noted by those that remained with him, that the speech of the mine was dead, (whereas men in expectation do commonly feed themselves with the talk of that they long to hear of;) nay, more, after he had received news of the taking of the town, which had been the fittest time to pursue the enterprise of the mine, (in regard the town that might have been the impediment, was mastered) he never entertained any such design, but contrarywise, having knowledge at the same time, that his son was slain, (who, as it seems, was his only care among the land soldiers) he did move very inhumanly, to remove not a little from Pont de Gallo to Port Hercule in respect of the danger of the current, (as he pretended) but to go for the Caribees many leagues off; accounting (as it seemeth) the land soldiers, but as *fruges consumere natos*, and having his thoughts only upon sea-forces, which how they should have been employed, every man may judge. And whereas some pretence is made him, as if he should leave some word at Pont de Gallo of direction, to what place the land soldiers should follow him; it is plain, he knew them at that time so distressed for victual, as famine must have overtaken them, before they could overtake him; at which time one of his captains told him, that he had delivered out fifty-two men to that service, which were then at the enterprise on land, whose lives he held at a dear rate, and that he would not weigh anchor, as long as he had a cable to ride-by, or a cake of bread to eat: so Sir Walter Ralegh finding no consent in that which he propounded, that cruel purpose was diverted.

It was also much observed, that after that unfortunate return of Keymis, notwithstanding Sir Walter Ralegh did publicly give out, that he would question him for failing to prosecute the mine, he had him at dinner and supper, and used him as familiarly and as kindly as before. And to George Ralegh, the serjeant-major, to whom he did use the like discountenances in public, who took it more tenderly, and complained, and brake with him about it; he did open himself more plainly, telling him that he must seem to do as much as he did, to give satisfaction.

After all this, when the prosecution of this imaginary mine vanished and was defeated, and that his company cast a sad eye homeward, finding they were but abused, Sir Walter Ralegh called a council of his captains, and held

held the same in his cabin, where he propounded to them, that his intention and design was, first, to make to the Newfoundland, and there to revictual and refresh his ships; and thence to go to the Western Islands, and there to lie in wait to meet with the Mexico-fleet, or to surprise some caracs; and so having gotten treasure, which might make him welcome into any foreign country, to take some new course for his future fortunes, valuing himself as a man of great enterprise, and fame abroad; but then and at divers times he did directly and openly declare, that it was no coming for England, for that he knew not how things would be construed, and that he (for his part) would never put his head under the king's girdle, except he first saw the great seal for his pardon.

At which time, his cogitations embracing east and west, rather than any return into his country, he did in particular make promise to a principal commander in his company, to give him a ship to go into the East Indies, if he would accompany him thither. But, according to his first project, he went to the Newfoundland, which he needed not to have done, if his purpose had been for England, (for that he had victuals enough, and to spare, for that journey), and there at Newfoundland his other company having formerly dispersed and forsaken him, his own company which was in his own ship began likewise to mutiny. And although some old pirates, either by his inciting, or out of fear of their own case, were fierce and violent for the sea, and against the return, yet the far greater number were for the return; at which time himself got a-land, and stood upon the sea-bank, and put it to a question, whether they should return for England, or land at Newfoundland: whereupon there was a division of voices, the one part to the starboard, and the other to the larboard; of which that part which was for the return for England, was two parts of three, and would by no means be drawn to set foot on land, but kept themselves in the ship, where they were sure they were masters; which he perceiving, for fear of farther mutiny, professed in dissimulation, that he himself was for the return into England, and came and stood among them that had most voices; but, nevertheless, after that he despaired to draw his company to follow him farther, he made offer of his own ship (which was of great value) to his company, if they would set him aboard a French bark. The like offer he made, when he came upon the coast of Ireland, to some of his chief officers there.

But

But about the time of his arrival upon the coast of Ireland, the forcing and sacking of Saint Thome, and the firing of the town, and the putting the Spaniards to the sword, was noised abroad in all parts, and was by special advertisement come unto the knowledge of the Count De Gondomar, then ambassador for the King of Spain with His Majesty, who thereupon prayed audience of His Majesty, and with great instance demanded justice against the persons and their goods (who had committed those outrages and made those spoils upon His Majesty's subjects) according to His Majesty's promise, and the treaty of peace. Whereupon His Majesty published his royal proclamation for the discovery of the truth of Ralegh's proceedings, and the advancement of justice. Notwithstanding all which, His Majesty used a gracious and mild course toward Sir Walter Ralegh, sending down Sir Lewis Stukely, vice-admiral of the county of Devon, to bring Sir Walter Ralegh in fair manner, and as his health would give leave, by easy journeys, to London. For about this time Sir Walter Ralegh was come from Ireland into England, into the port of Plymouth, where it was easy to discern with what goodwill he came thither, by his immediate attempt to escape from thence; for soon after his coming to Plymouth, before he was under guard, he dealt with the owner of a French bark, (pretending it was for a gentleman a friend of his), to make ready his bark for a passage, and offered him twelve crowns for his pains: and one night he went in a little boat to have seen the bark that should have transported him; but the night being very dark, he missed of the bark, and came back again, nothing done; wherein by the way appears, that it was not any train laid for him by Sir Lewis Stukely or any other (as was voiced) to move or tempt him to an escape, but that he had a purpose to fly and escape from his first arrival into England.

But in this his purpose he grew to be more resolute and fixed, after the lords of His Majesty's council, observing the delays in his coming up, had sent unto Stukely, some quick letters for the hastening thereof: but thereupon, as his desire of escape increased, so did the difficulty thereof increase also; for that Stukely from that time forth kept a better guard upon him, whereof he took that apprehension insomuch as (knowing Stukely to be witty and watchful) he grew to an opinion that it would be impossible for him to escape, except he could win one of these two points; either to corrupt Stukely, or at least to get to have some liberty, when he came to London, of remaining in his own house; for guiltiness did tell him that upon his coming to London, it was like he should be

laid

laid prisoner in the Tower. Wherefore he saw no other way, but in his journey to London, to counterfeit sickness in such a manner, as might in commiseration of his extremity, move His Majesty to permit him to remain in his own house, where he assured himself ere long to plot an opportunity of an escape: and having in his company one Mannourie, a Frenchman, a professor of physic, and one that had many chemical receipts, he practised by crowns, and promised to draw him into his consort, the better to make faith of his counterfeiting to be sick. The story whereof Mannourie himself reporteth to have passed in this manner:

Upon Saturday, the 25th of July, Sir Walter Ralegh, Sir Lewis Stukely, and Mannourie went to lie at Mr. Drake's, where the letters of commission from the privy council were brought unto Sir Lewis Stukely, by the of His Majesty's messengers, which caused a sudden departure, with much more haste than was expected before: and the countenance of Sir Walter Ralegh was much changed after Sir Lewis Stukely had shewed the commission; for Mannourie saw him from the stair-head, (he being alone in his chamber, the door standing half open), how he stamped with his feet, and pulled himself by the hair, swearing in these words, *Gods wounds! is it possible my fortune should return upon me thus again!*

From Mr. Drake's they went on their journey to the house of Mr. Horsey, distant from thence four miles, or thereabout. It was in that hour that Sir Walter Ralegh began first to cause Mannourie to be sounded, what was in his heart, by an old domestic of his, called Captain King, who there began to discourse unto Mannourie of the infortunity of his master, and among other things, said thus, *I would we were all at Paris.* To whom Mannourie answered, *I would we were all at London; alas! what shall we do at Paris? Because*, quoth King, *that as soon as we come to London, they will commit Sir Walter Ralegh to the Tower, and cut-off his head:* whereupon Mannourie answered, that he hoped better than so, and that he was sorry for his ill-fortune; and that according to his small ability, he was ready to do him all honest service he could, so it might be done without offence.

After dinner, it being Sunday, Sir Walter Ralegh departed from Mr. Horsey's house, and went to Sherborne, and in the way when he came within view thereof, turning to Mannourie, and shewing him the place and the territory about it, he said unto him, sighing, that all that was his,

and

and that the king had unjustly taken it from him. He and Stukely lay not at Sherborne, but were invited to the house of old Mr. Parham: Mannourie and their train went to lie at Sherborne, at the sign of the George. The next day, being Monday, the 27th of July, Mannourie went to them, and from thence they took their way toward Salisbury, thirty-five miles from Sherborne; and arriving there, Sir Walter Ralegh going on foot down the hill, addressed himself unto Mannourie, and asked him if he had any of his vomits, or other medicines; which he telling him that he had, he prayed him to make one ready against the next morning, and to tell nobody thereof. *I know*, quoth he, *that it is good for me to evacuate many bad humours, and by this means I shall gain time to work my friends, give order for my affairs, and, it may be, pacify His Majesty before my coming to London; for I know well, that as soon as I come there, I shall to the Tower, and that they will cut-off my head, if I use no means to escape it; which I cannot do, without counterfeiting to be sick, which your vomits will effect without suspicion.* For which cause the same evening, as soon as he arrived, he laid him down upon a bed, complaining much of his head, and blaming his great day's journey from Sherborne to Salisbury, (notwithstanding he supped very well), but after supper he seemed to be surprised with a dimness of sight, by a swimming or giddiness in his head, and holding his hand before his face, he rose from his bed, and being led by the arm by Sir Lewis Stukely, he staggered so, that he struck his head with some violence against a post of the gallery before his chamber, which made Sir Lewis Stukely think that he was sick indeed, in which belief Mannourie left him for that time.

The next day, in the morning, he sent his lady his wife, and most of his servants to London, and also Captain King; and Cuthbert and Mannourie, and Sir Lewis Stukely being in Stukely's chamber, a servant of the said Sir Walter, named Robin, came and told them that his master was out of his wits, and that he was naked in his shirt, upon all four, scratching and biting the rushes upon the planks, which greatly pitied Sir Lewis Stukely, who, rising in haste, sent Mannourie to him, who when he came found him gotten again to his bed, and asking him what he ailed, he answered, he ailed nothing, but that he did it of purpose. And Sir Walter Ralegh asking him for his vomit, he gave it him, who made no bones, but swallowed it down incontinently;

incontinently; at which time Sir Lewis Stukely coming in, Sir Walter began again to cry and rave: then Mannourie went out of the chamber, and the vomit which he had given him was an hour and a half before it wrought: but in the meantime Sir Walter Ralegh began to draw up his legs and arms all on a heap, as it had been in a fit of convulsions and contractions of his sinews, and that with such vehemence, that Sir Lewis Stukely had much ado, with the help of others, to pull out strait, sometimes an arm, sometimes a leg, which, against all the strength they had, he would draw up again as it was before; whereat the said Sir Lewis Stukely, took great compassion, causing him to be well rubbed and chafed, which Sir Walter Ralegh himself afterward told unto Mannourie, laughing that he had well exercised Sir Lewis Stukely, and taught him to be a physician.

This fained fit being thus past, Sir Walter Ralegh called Mannourie, and when he came, he prayed him to stay by him, and said he would take some rest. Mannourie shut the door, and being alone with him, Sir Walter Ralegh told him, that his vomit had done nothing as yet, and said that he would take another more violent; but Mannourie assuring him, that without doubt it would work, he contented himself, and asked Mannourie if he could invent any thing that might make him look horrible and loathsome outwardly, without offending the principal parts, or making him sick inwardly. Mannourie studied a little, and then told him, that he would make a composition presently, of certain things, which would make him like a leper from head to foot, without doing him any harm, which at his entreaty he effected speedily; at which time Sir Walter Ralegh gave him the reason why he did it, telling him that his being in that case would make the lords of the council afraid to come near him, and move them with more pity to favour him. Soon after that Mannourie had put this composition upon his brow, his arms, and his breast, Sir Lewis Stukely came into the chamber, and Mannourie went away, and Sir Lewis Stukely perceiving the places where Mannourie had put this composition to be all pimpled, his face full of great blisters of divers colours, having in the midst a little touch of yellow, and round about like a purple colour, and all the rest of his skin as it were inflamed with heat, he began to apprehend the danger of the disease, that it was contagious, and being very much astonished at the sudden accident, he asked Mannourie what he thought thereof; but Mannourie judged it fit to conceal it from him at that time, seeing Sir Walter

Walter Ralegh had not yet told him, that he meant to fly out of England, but that it was only to gain time to satisfy His Majesty.

Upon Mannourie's uncertain answer to Sir Lewis Stukely, touching Sir Walter Ralegh's malady, Stukely resolved to go to My Lord Bishop of Ely, now of Winchester, to relate unto him in what case Sir Walter Ralegh was, and brought unto Ralegh two physicians to see and visit him; who being come, could tell nothing of what humour the said sickness was composed. There came also a third, a bachelor in physic, who all could not by all that they could do, discover this disease; only they gave their opinion and advice, that the patient could not be exposed to the air, without manifest peril of his life, and thereof they made their report in writing, unto which Mannourie also set his hand.

Sir Walter Ralegh seeing that all these things fell out according to his intention, was exceedingly contented thereat, especially that in the presence of the said physicians the vomit began to work both upward and downward. And because he doubted that the physicians would ask to see his water, he prayed Mannourie to do something to make it seem troubled and bad; which to content him (giving him the urinal into his bed) Mannourie rubbed the inside of the glass with a certain drug, which as soon as he had made water therein, the urine, even in the hands of the physicians, turned all into an earthy humour, of a blackish colour, and made the water also to have an ill savour, which made the physicians judge the disease to be mortal, and without remedy but from Heaven.

He made Mannourie also to tie his arms about with black silk riband, which he took from his poniard, to try if it would distemper the pulse, but that succeeded not, as he thought it would. The day following he called Mannourie, and prayed him to make some more such blisters upon him, as upon his nose, his head, his thighs, and his legs; which Mannourie having done, it succeeded according to his desire, for which he was very jocund and merry with Mannourie, and said unto him, that the evacuation which his physic had caused, had so opened his stomach, that he was exceeding hungry, and prayed Mannourie that he would go and buy him some meat secretly; *for*, quoth he, *if I eat publicly, it will be seen that I am not sick:* so, according to his request, Mannourie went to the White-hart in Salisbury, and bought him a leg of mutton and three loaves, which he ate in secret, and by this subtilty it was thought that he lived three days without eating, but not without drink. This he continued until

til Friday, the last of July, seeming always to be sick in the presence of company; and nevertheless, being alone, he writ his declaration or Apology, and prayed Mannourie to transcribe it, which was since presented to His Majesty.

The same evening Sir Lewis Stukely discoursing upon his sickness, and whence it should proceed, Sir Walter Ralegh said in these words, *as God save me, I think I have taken poison where I lay the night before I came to this town: I know that Mr. Parham is a great lover of the King of Spain, and a papist, and that he keeps always a priest in his house; but I will not have any of you to speak of it; nor you, Monsieur*, (quoth he) speaking to Mannourie. Also, Sir Walter Ralegh, his chamber doors being shut, walked up and down, and only Mannourie with him, there naked in his shirt, and took a looking-glass, and looking upon the spots in his face, whereat he took great pleasure, and laughing, said unto Mannourie these words, *we shall laugh well one day, for having thus cozened and beguiled the king, his council, and the physicians, and the Spaniards and all.*

Upon the Saturday that His Majesty arrived at Salisbury, which was the 1st of August, Sir Walter Ralegh desired to speak with Mannourie in secret, and seemed to have a very great apprehension of something, and having made him shut the doors, prayed him to give him a red leather coffer, which was within another coffer, which when he had, he was a good while looking in it, and then called Mannourie, and putting nine pieces of Spanish money of gold into his hand, he said thus: *There is twenty crowns in pistolets, which I give you for your physical receipts, and the victual you bought me; and I will give you fifty pound a-year, if you will do that which I shall tell you; and if it happen that Sir Lewis Stukely do ask you what conference you had with me, tell him that you comfort me in mine adversity, and that I make you no other answer than thus, as is here written*, which he had already written with his own hand in a little piece of paper for Mannourie's instruction, as followeth:

Vela M. Mannourie l'acceptance de tout mes travaus, pertie de mon estat, & de mon fils, mes maladies, & doleurs. Vela l'effect de mon confidence au roy. Which paper, of Ralegh's hand-writing, Mannourie produced.

And now Sir Walter Ralegh began to practise with Mannourie, and to tell him that he would fly and get himself out of England, and that if Mannourie

Mannourie would aid him in his escape, it was all in his power, and that Sir Lewis Stukely trusted in nobody but Mannourie; whereupon Mannourie made him an overture, that at his coming to London he should keep himself close in a friend's house of Mannourie's, in Shire-lane in London, whereunto he seemed to incline, and found Mannourie's advice good for a while; but in the end he told him, that he was resolved otherwise, and that he had already sent Captain King to hire him a bark below Gravesend, which would go with all winds, and another little boat to carry him to it; *For*, quoth he, *to hide myself in London, I should be always in fear to be discovered by the general searchers that are there; but to escape, I must get leave to go to my house, and being there, I will handle the matter so, that I will escape out of the hands of Sir Lewis Stukely by a back door, and get me into the boat; for nobody will doubt that I can go on foot, seeing me so feeble as I seem to be.* And then Ralegh having mused awhile, without speaking, Mannowry asked him, *Sir, wherefore will you fly? Your Apology, and your last declaration, do not they justify you sufficiently?* Then all in choler, Ralegh answered him in English thus: *Never tell me more, a man that fears is never secure;* which fashion of his put Mannourie to silence for that time.

Now there rested nothing but His Majesty's licence, to permit him to go to his own house, without which, he said, he could not possibly escape. This licence was after granted him by the means of Mr. Vice-chamberlain and Mr. Secretary Naunton; which being obtained, Mannourie took occasion to say to him, *that hereby one might see, that His Majesty had no meaning to take his life, seeing that he suffered him to go to his own house to recover his health. No*, quoth Ralegh, *they used all these kinds of flatteries, to the Duke of Byron, to draw him fairly to the prison, and then they cut-off his head; I know that they have concluded among them, that it is expedient that a man should die, to reassure the traffic which I have broken in Spain.* And thereupon brake forth into most hateful, and traiterous words against the King's own person, ending in a menace and bravery, *that if he could save himself for that time, he would plot such plots as should make the king think himself happy to send for him again, and render him his estate with advantage; yea, and force the King of Spain to write into England in his favour.*

Mannourie at that time did ask him farther, if he escaped, what should become of Sir Lewis Stukely? and whether he should be put to death for him

him or not, and whether he should lose his office and estate? *Not to death,* quoth Ralegh, *but he will be imprisoned for awhile, but his lands the king cannot have, for that they are already assured to his eldest son; and for the rest, it was no part of his care.* Mannourie farther asked him, if it were not treason in himself to be aiding to his escape? *No,* quoth he, *for that you are a stranger; nevertheless, you must not be known of anything, for then you will be sure to be put in prison.* In conclusion, Mannourie demanded of him yet farther, *but what if it be discovered, that I had any hand in your escape? Why,* quoth he, *follow me into France, (that is your country,) and quit all, and I will make you amends for all.*

After, Ralegh went on his journey to Andover, and so to Hartford-bridge, and from thence to Staines, during which time Sir Lewis Stukely being made acquainted by Mannowrie with Ralegh's purpose to escape, used extraordinary diligence in guards and watches upon him; which Ralegh perceiving, said to Mannourie, at Staines, *I perceive well it is not possible for me to escape by our two means alone, Stukely is so watchful, and sets such strait guard upon me, and will be too hard for us, for all our cunnings; therefore there is no way but to make him of our counsel; and if we can persuade him to let me save myself, I will give him in hand two hundred pounds sterling worth*; and thereupon drew forth a jewel, and shewed it to Mannourie, and gave it into his hand, made in the fashion of hail powdered with diamonds, with a ruby in the midst, which he valued at a hundred and fifty pounds sterling, and said, *beside this jewel, he shall have fifty pounds in money; I pray you go tell him so from me, and persuade him to it, I know he will trust you.*

Mannourie went presently to Stukely, and told him as before, and concluded with him, that Mannourie should report back to Ralegh, that he would accept of his offer, and bade him tell Ralegh also, that he was content to do as he desired; but he would chuse rather to go away with him, than to tarry behind with shame and reproach; and he bade Mannourie ask him farther, how he thought he could do this, without losing his office of vice-admiral, which cost him six hundred pounds, and how they should live afterward; and to what place they should go, and what means he would carry with him, to furnish this intended escape; which Mannourie did, and was answered by the said Ralegh, and prayed to tell Stukely, that if he would swear unto him not to discover him, he would

tell

tell him his whole intent. And that for the first point, though Stukely should lose his office, yet he should be no loser upon the matter; and for afterward, as soon as he was gotten into France or Holland, his wife was to send him a thousand pounds sterling, and that he carried with him only a thousand crowns in money and jewels to serve for the present in his escape. But after supper, Ralegh said unto Mannourie, *O! if I could escape without Stukely, I should do bravely; but it is no matter*, said he, *I'll carry him along, and afterward I'll dispatch myself of him well enough.* And after, Mannourie relating all that had passed to Stukely, brought them together, at which time Ralegh shewed the jewel to Stukely; and he making shew to be content, prayed him a little respite to dispose of his office; whereupon Mannourie seeing them so accorded upon the matter in appearance, took his leave of them to go to London. And in the morning Mannourie upon the taking of his leave, said to Ralegh, that he did not think to see him again while he was in England; whereupon Ralegh gave him a letter directed to Mrs. Herrys of Radford, that she should deliver him an iron furnace with a distillatory of copper belonging unto it, and charged him to tell every man he met, that he was sick, and that he left him in an extreme looseness that very night.

But Ralegh having formerly dispatched a messenger to London, to prepare him a bark for his escape, came at last to London, and having won his purpose, (by these former devices of feigned sickness) to be spared from imprisonment in the Tower, and to be permitted to remain at his own house, till his better recovery, there fell out an accident, which gave him great hopes and encouragement speedily to facilitate his intended design for escape. For as he came on his way to London, in his inn at Brentford, there came unto him a Frenchman named La Chesnay, a follower of Le Clerc, last agent here for His Majesty's dearest brother the French king; who told him that the French agent was very desirous to speak with him, as soon as might be after his arrival at London, for matters greatly concerning the said Sir Walter's weal and safety; as in effect it fell out, that the very next night after his arrival at London, the said Le Clerc and La Chesnay came unto him to his house, and there did the said Le Clerc offer unto him a French bark, which he had prepared for him to escape in, and withal his letters recommendatory for his safe conduct and reception to the governor of Calais, and to send a gentleman expressly that should attend and meet him there; to which offer of his Ralegh after some questions

tions passed, finding the French bark not to be so ready, nor so fit as that himself had formerly provided, gave him thanks, and told him that he would make use of his own bark, but for his letters, and the rest of his offer, he should be beholden to him, because his acquaintance in France was worn-out. So passionately bent was he upon his escape, as that he did not forbear to trust his life, and to communicate a secret importing him so near, upon his first acquaintance, and unto a stranger, whom he hath since confessed that he never saw before. And thus after two nights stay, the third night he made an actual attempt to escape, and was in boat toward his ship, but was by Stukely arrested, brought back, and delivered into the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower.

For these his great and heinous offences, in acts of hostility upon His Majesty's confederates, depredations, and abuses, as well of his commission, as of His Majesty's subjects under his charge, impostures, attempts of escape, declining His Majesty's justice, and the rest, evidently proved or confessed by himself, he had made himself utterly unworthy of His Majesty's farther mercy; and because he could not by law be judicially called in question, for that his former attainder of treason is the highest and last work of the law (whereby he was *civiliter mortuus*) His Majesty was inforced (except attainders should become privileges for all subsequent offences) to resolve to have him executed upon his former attainder.

His Majesty's just and honourable proceedings being thus made manifest to all his good subjects by this preceding declaration, not founded upon conjectures or likelihoods, but either upon confession of the party himself, or upon the examination of divers unsuspected witnesses, he leaves it to the world to judge, how he could either have satisfied his own justice, (his honourable intentions having been so perverted and abused by the said Sir Walter Ralegh) or yet make the uprightness of the same his intentions appear to his dearest brother the King of Spain; if he had not by a legal punishment of the offender, given an example, as well of terror to all his other subjects, not to abuse his gracious meanings, in taking the contrary courses for the attaining to their own unlawful ends; as also of demonstration to all other foreign princes and states, whereby they might rest assured of His Majesty's honourable proceeding with them, when any the like case shall occur. By which means His Majesty may the more assuredly expect and claim an honourable concurrence, and a reciprocal correspondence from them, upon any the like occasion. But as to Sir Walter Ralegh's

legh's confession at his death, what he confessed or denied touching any the points of this declaration, His Majesty leaves him and his concience therein to God, as was said in the beginning of this discourse. For sovereign princes cannot make a true judgment upon the bare speeches or asseverations of a delinquent at the time of his death, but their judgment must be founded upon examinations, re-examinations, and confrontments, and such-like real proofs, as all this former discourse is made-up and built upon; all the material and most important of the said examinations being taken under the hands of the examinates that could write, and that in the presence of no fewer than six of His Majesty's privy-council, and attested by their alike several subscriptions under their hands, which were My Lords, the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Verulam, lord-chancellor of England, the Earl of Worcester, lord privy-seal, master secretary Naunton, the master of the rolls, and Sir Edward Coke."

No XIX.

Poetry ascribed to Sir WALTER RALEGH.

DULCINA.

As at noon Dulcina rested
In her sweet and shady bower,
Came a shepherd and requested
In her lap to sleep an hour.
But from her look
A wound he took
So deep, that for a farther boon
The nymph he prays,
Whereto she says,
Forego me now, come to me soon.

But in vain she did conjure him
To depart her presence so,
Having a thousand tongues t'allure him,
And but one to bid him go.

When lips invite,
And eyes delight,
And cheeks as fresh as rose in June,
Persuade delay——
What boots to say
Forego me now, come to me soon?

He demands, what time for pleasure
Can there be more fit than now?
She says, night gives love that leisure
Which the day doth not allow.
He says, the sight
Improves delight;
Which she denies; night's murky noon,
In Venus' plays,
Makes bold (she says);
Forego me now, come to me soon.

But what promise or profession
From his hands could purchase scope?
Who would sell the sweet possession
Of such beauty for a hope?
Or, for the sight
Of ling'ring night,
Forego the present joys of noon?
Tho' ne'er so fair
Her speeches were,
Forego me now, come to me soon.

How at last agreed these lovers?
She was fair and he was young;
The tongue may tell what th'eye discovers,
Joys unseen are never sung.
Did she consent,
Or he relent,
Accepts he night, or grants she noon?
Left he her maid
Or not? she said,
Forego me now, come to me soon.

THE EXCUSE.

Calling to mind, my eyes went long about,
To cause my heart for to forsake my breast;
All in a rage, I sought to pull them out,
As who had been such traitors to my rest.
What could they say to win again my grace?—
Forsooth, *that they had seen my mistress' face.*

Another time my heart I called to mind,
Thinking that he this woe on me had brought,
Because that he to love his force resign'd,
When of such wars my fancy never thought.
What could he say when I would have him slain?
That he was her's, and had forgone my chain.

At last, when I perceiv'd both eyes and heart
Excuse themselves, as guiltless of my ill,
I found myself the cause of all my smart,
And told myself that I myself would kill.
Yet when I saw myself to you was true,
I lov'd myself, because myself lov'd you.

Shall I, like an hermit, dwell
On a rock, or in a cell,
Calling home the smallest part
That is missing of my heart,
To bestow it where I may
Meet a rival ev'ry day?
If she undervalue me,
What care I how fair she be?

Were her tresses angel gold,
If a stranger may be bold,
Unrebuked, unafraid,
To convert them to a braid,

And with little more ado,
Work them into bracelets, too;
If the mine be grown so free,
What care I how rich it be?

Were her hand as rich a prize
As her hairs or precious eyes,
If she lay them out to take
Kisses, for good manners' sake,
And let ev'ry lover skip
From her hand unto her lip;
If she seem not chaste to me,
What care I how chaste she be?

No; she must be perfect snow,
In effect as well as shew;
Warming but as snow-balls do,
Not like fire, by burning too;
But when she by change hath got
To her heart a second lot,
Then, if others share with me,
Farewell her, whate'er she be *.

No. XX.

An Examination of Mr. DAVID HUME's *Arguments against Sir* WALTER RALEGH, in Note I. Vol. VI. p. 555, *of his History of England.*

(N. B. Mr. HUME's words are distinguished by the *Italic character.*)

I. *There seems to be an improbability that the Spaniards, who knew nothing of Ralegh's pretended mine, should have built a town in so wide a coast, within three miles of it. The chances are extremely against such a supposition, and it is more natural to think that the view of plun-*

* See the London Magazine for 1734, p. 444.

dering

dering the town led him thither, than that of working a mine.—Had Mr. Hume examined more minutely than he appears to have done, the papers relative to Sir Walter's three first voyages to Guiana, presented to the reader in the first volume of this work, he would have found that the Spaniards were *not* unacquainted with the knight's motions in that quarter. Their building the town where they did build it, is an argument that they thought mines existed there, and strongly favours the veracity of Keymis, as to the mine in question. Had Ralegh, under the circumstances in which he stood in this country, sold his all for a voyage to plunder the town, as Mr. Hume adds, would not the mere idea have indicated insanity, not to mention the cheat practised upon his family and co-adventurers?

II. *No such mine is there found to this day.*—This assertion surely required the support of some authority. Dr. Campbell, on the contrary, informs us, that Coreal, one of the best Spanish travellers, confirms Sir Walter's account of the riches of Guiana; and that various mines were marked in that country, of which the Spaniards were suspiciously careful. (See LIVES of the ADMIRALS, 8vo, 1781, I. 522, note l.

III. *Ralegh in fact found no mine, and in fact he plundered and burned a Spanish town. Is it not more probable, therefore, that the latter was his intention? How can the secrets of his breast be rendered so visible, as to counterpoise certain facts?*—That no mine was found, and that a Spanish town was burned, were, if there be any truth in the preceding documents, the actions of Keymis, not the commands of Ralegh. The probability that the latter was the knight's intention, is already examined under the first argument; and as for the *secrets of his breast*, Sir Walter's words, at his death, are the best testimony which we could have had of them.

IV. *He confesses, in his letter to Lord Carew, that though he knew it, yet he concealed from the king the settlement of the Spaniards on that coast; does not this fact alone render him sufficiently criminal?*—In Chap. IX. the reader has Sir Walter's Address to Lord Carew at length, and can therefore refer to the knight's arguments.

V. *His commission empowers him only to settle on a coast possessed by savage and barbarous inhabitants; was it not the most evident breach of orders to disembark on a coast possessed by Spaniards?*—The coast was not *possessed* by Spaniards, although they had *settlements* in the country.

country. Ralegh maintained that the claims of the English to it were at least equally just; and perhaps a wiser prince than James would have supported him, to the glory of his country. The words of the commission were only in the usual form, *viz.* "Unto the south parts of America, or elsewhere within America, possessed and inhabited by heathen and savage people." (See No. XVIII. of this.)

VI. *His orders to Keymis, when he sent him up the river, are contained in his own Apology, and from them it appears that he knew (what was unavoidable), that the Spaniards would resist, and would oppose the English landing, and taking possession of the country; his intentions, therefore, were hostile from the beginning.*—It appears, indeed, by these orders that Sir Walter, as became him, gave Keymis his best advice, in case of an attack from the Spaniards; but he could not know for certain that such an attack was intended, nor was he so unfit for his command, as, on his arrival at Guiana, to forego the object of his voyage, from the bare apprehension of such an attack.

VII. *Without provocation, and even when at a distance, he gave Keymis orders to dislodge the Spaniards from their own town; could any enterprise be more hostile, and, considering the Spaniards as allies to the nation, could any enterprise be more criminal? Was he not the aggressor, even though it should be true that the Spaniards fired upon his men at landing? it is said he killed 300 or 400 of them, is that so light a matter?*—On the contrary, the reader, by referring to Sir Walter's order to Keymis, in his Apology, will find that the knight was in doubt whether there was such a Spanish town there or not; and that he only ordered Keymis to repel them, in case the Spaniards began to war upon him. I know not whence Mr. Hume derived his formidable numbers of 300 or 400, for which he again gives us no authority; and for which we look in vain in the king's Declaration, where the circumstance would probably have been made the most of.

VIII. *In his letter to the king, and in his Apology, he grounds his defence on former hostilities exercised by the Spaniards against other companies of Englishmen. These are accounted for by the ambiguity of the treaty between the nations; and it is plain, that though these might possibly be reasons for the king's declaring war against that nation, they could never entitle Ralegh to declare war, and without any commission or contrary to his commission, to invade the Spanish settlements. He pretends*

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